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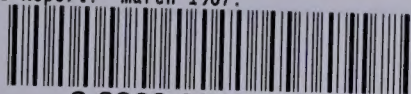
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GENERAL REPORT

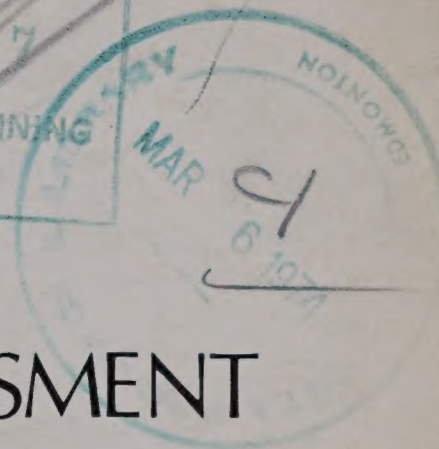
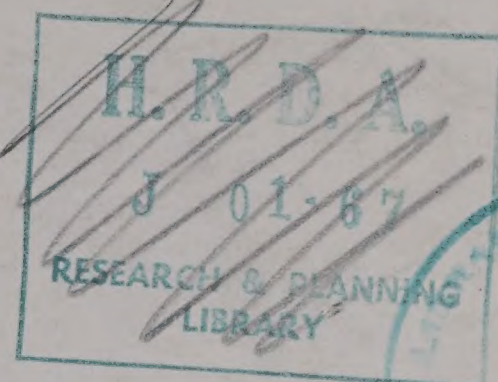
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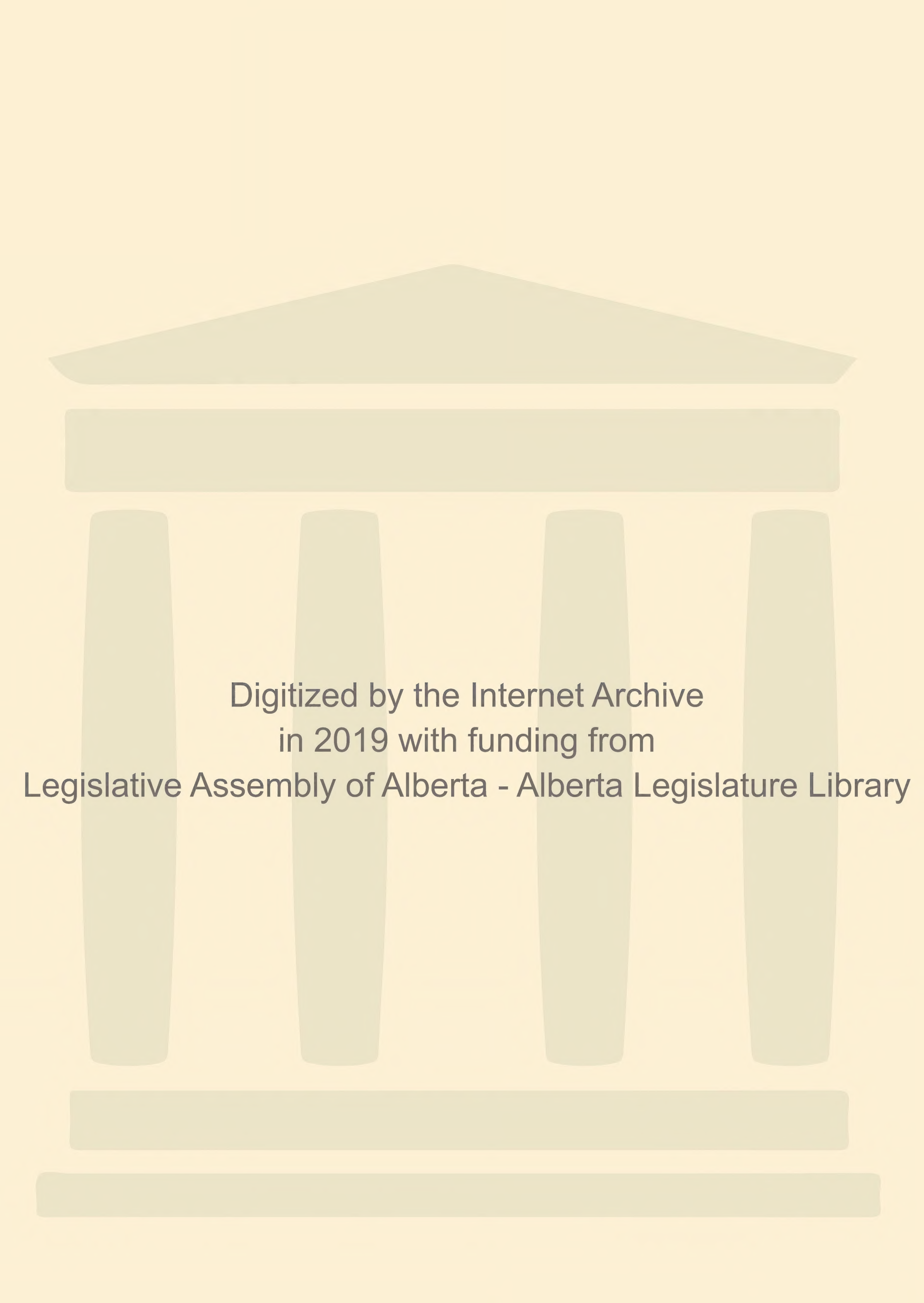


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COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT





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GENERAL REPORT



COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT

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**Human Resources Research and Development
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL - GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA**

Edmonton, Alberta
March, 1967

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The greatest debt felt by those of us who were involved in this work is to those who supplied us with our information -- the people in Alberta, Indian, Metis and White who consented to talk to us. The facts and opinions, the expressions of hope and fear they communicated to us are the bone and blood of this report. We cannot forget their fear and their hope that our work will not be in vain.

PREFACE

This report has turned out to be considerably longer than it was initially intended. It apparently could not be otherwise: to have shortened it would have been to cut out detail which contributed to the understanding of a situation or to the substantiation of a possibly questionable point which seemed important.

To aid the reader, several devices are used in the presentation of data which are designed to facilitate speedy assimilation of the statistical information on the various areas included in this study. In the first place, the final chapter contains a summary of various statistical indications of poverty which are available for the white and the Indian ancestry samples studied. In the second place, each major section of a chapter is preceded by a listing of the major statistical findings on which that section is based. The same sequence of development is followed in all but three of the chapters which deal with findings of the study, as follows. Information is first presented for the white samples. This is followed by a comparison of high, middle and low income groups, first for the farm samples and then for the non-farm samples, on the characteristics or factors with which the chapter deals. Finally, the information for the Indian ancestry samples on these same characteristics or factors is presented. It should be noted that we have less of this information for the latter groups because it was not possible to use such an elaborate interview schedule with non-whites. The only exceptions to this plan for each chapter involve Chapters IV and V which deal with sources of livelihood and satisfactions and plans for the future of the sample members. Here, the difference in the situations of farm and non-farm families made for such incomparabilities between the two samples that it seemed best to separate them into separate sections of the chapter.

The reader who is forced to conserve his time would perhaps do best to turn first to the statistical summaries which are found in the last chapter. From there he could turn to the chapters dealing with material which interests him most. In these chapters he might turn first to the listings of the major statistical findings which are discussed at the beginning of each section.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
List of Tables	
List of Figures	
CHAPTER	
I RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND SOURCES OF DATA	1
Introduction	1
The Selection of the Study Areas	2
Selection of the Non-Indian Areas of Study	5
The Comparison Area	12
The Sources of Data	13
The Formal Interviews	14
The Field Work	17
The Sample in Indian Ancestry Areas	18
The Sample in the White Areas of Study	21
The Analysis of the Data	22
The Remainder of this Report	23
II GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE AND HISTORY OF THE AREAS STUDIED	29
Geography	29
Climate	31
History	31
III CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS INTERVIEWED	35
The Tabulation of the Sample	35
Characteristics of the White Sample	37
Relationships Between Annual Income and Background Characteristics	45
The Indian Ancestry Samples	49
IV SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD	55
Sources of Livelihood of the Farm Sample	55
Sources of Income of the Farm Sample	60
Relationship Between Annual Income and Sources of Livelihood for Farm Sample	67
Sources of Livelihood of the Non-Farm Sample	70
Relationship Between Annual Income and Sources of Livelihood for the Non-Farm Sample ...	76
The Indian Ancestry Samples	78
V SATISFACTION, PLANS AND PROSPECTS OF SAMPLE MEMBERS	89
The Farm Samples	89
Relationship Between Annual Income and Satisfaction, Plans and Prospects of the Farm Sample Members	103
The Non-Farm Sample	108
Relationship Between Annual Income and Satisfaction, Plans and Prospects of the Non-Farm Sample Members	115
The Indian Ancestry Sample	118

CHAPTER		Page
VI	HOME AND FAMILY LIFE	125
	The White Sample	126
	Relationships Between Annual Income and Home and Family Life Characteristics	144
	The Indian Ancestry Sample	152
VII	FAMILY HEALTH	161
	The White Sample	161
	Mental Health in the White Sample	173
	Relationship Between Annual Income and Physical and Mental Health	177
	The Indian Ancestry Samples	182
VIII	PERCEPTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION IN ITS ACTIVITY.....	185
	The White Sample	185
	Relationship Between Annual Income and Attitudes Toward the Community, and Community Participation of Sample Members	188
	The Indian Ancestry Samples	208
IX	INVOLVEMENTS BEYOND THE COMMUNITY LEVEL ..	209
	The White Sample	210
	Sources of Information Available to and Utilized by Respondents	210
	Political Involvement: Interest, Knowledge and Voting	215
	Political Interest Ratings	215
	Knowledge of Local M. L. A. and M. P.	215
	Frequency of Voting in Provincial and Federal Elections	217
	Consequences and Involvements	217
	Relationship Between Annual Income and Involvements Beyond the Community Level	220
	The Indian Ancestry Sample	226
X	ATTITUDES AND VALUES	235
	The White Sample	235
	Implementing Decisions: The Middle Class vs. the Working Class Orientations	240
	The Indian Ancestry Sample	251
XI	ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION	255
	The White Samples	255
	Relationship Between Annual Income and Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions	261
	The Indian Ancestry Sample	264
XII	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	271
	The Sources of Data	271
	Indications of Poverty: The White Sample	272
	The Indian Ancestry Sample	279

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Metis of the Lac La Biche Area

APPENDIX B

The Drumheller Valley

APPENDIX C

The Innisfail Area

(Appendixes
A to F
are
printed as
separate
volumes)

APPENDIX D

The Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain Areas

APPENDIX E

The Niton Area

APPENDIX F

Indians of the Saddle Lake Reserve

APPENDIX G

Page

Interview Schedules I, II, III and IV, and Order in Council	285
Interview Schedule I	287
Interview Schedule II	311
Interview Schedule III	333
Interview Schedule IV	347
Order in Council	359

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
I-1	Income, Age, Education, Nativity, and Mortality Data, by Census Division	7
I-2	Information on Population, Employment, Earnings Education, Age, and Ethnicity for Selected Improvement Districts	9
II-1	Information on Geography and Forms of Land Usage in the Study Areas	30
II-2	Information on Climate in Study Areas	32
II-3	Historical Information on the Study Areas	33
III-1	Individuals and Households Formally Interviewed, by Community	36
III-2	Ages of White Subjects Interviewed, by Community	38
III-3	Land of Birth of Subjects, Their Fathers & Their Grandparents, by Community	38
III-4	Occupations of Men Interviewed in Drumheller	42
III-5	Occupations of Employed Female Sample Members, by Community	43
III-6	Total Net Family Income for 1965 - for White Farm and Non-Farm Samples	44
III-7	Proportions of White Farm Sample Members Sharing Selected Background Characteristics, by Income Groups	46
III-8	Proportions of White Non-Farm Sample Members Sharing Selected Background Characteristics, by Income Groups	47
III-9	Occupations of Indian Ancestry Male Heads of Households	52
IV-1	Summary of Statistical Information on Farm Sources of Livelihood, by Community	56
IV-2	Sources of Income, by Community	61
IV-3	Summary of Statistical Information on Off-Farm Employment, by Community	62
IV-4	Types of Government Assistance Ever Received by Farm Sample Members, by Community	66
IV-5	Net Family Income for 1965, by Community	68
IV-6	Proportions of Subjects in Three Income Groups Having Selected Characteristics Relating to Sources of Livelihood	69
IV-7	Summary of Sources of Livelihood Data for Non-Farm Sample	72
IV-8	Occupational Distributions of Males of Drumheller City, I. D. 42 and the Study Sample	72
IV-9	Proportions of Three Income Groups Which Have Selected Characteristics Relating to Sources of Income ..	77
IV-10	Summary of Statistical Information on the Indian and Metis Samples	81
IV-11	Income Received from Diverse Sources by Indian Ancestry Households	82
V-1	Satisfaction with Circumstances Data Summary for Farm Sample	90
V-2	Plans and Prospects Data Summary for Farm Sample ...	92
V-3	Planned Improvements with Total Median Costs for Farm Sample, by Community	96
V-4	Farm Improvements Subjects Would "Like To" Make with Total Median Costs, by Community	98

	<u>Page</u>
V-5	"New Start Aspirations" of Farm Sample Members, by Community 101
V-6	Proportion of Each of Three Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Satisfaction Index Items 104
V-7	Proportion of Each of Three Income Groups: Movement Plans and Obstacles 106
V-8	Proportion of Each of Three Income Groups Make Selection Responses to Items Dealing with Planned Improvements 107
V-9	Proportion of Each of Three Income Groups Make Selection Responses to Items Dealing With "New Start Aspirations" 109
V-10	Statistical Summary of Data on Satisfaction and Plans for Non-Farm Sample Members 110
V-11	Work Wanted "If You Could Do Anything You Wanted To" by Non-Farm Sample Members, by Sex 114
V-12	Proportions of Three Non-Farm Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Items Dealing with Satisfaction with Current Situation, Current Plans and New Start Aspirations 116
V-13	A Summary of Statistical Information Relating to Satisfaction, Plans and Prospects of the Indian Ancestry Samples 119
V-14	"Most Liked" and "Least Liked" Jobs Among Four Alternatives by Lac La Biche Male Sample Members 121
VI-1	Summary of Statistical Information on Home, Children and Family Harmony for White Sample Members, by Community 127
VI-2	Low, Medium and High Edwards' Scores of Homes of White Sample Members, by Community 130
VI-3	Subjects of Disagreements Between Parents and Children in White Sample Families, by Community.. 136
VI-4	Subjects of Disagreements Between Parents in White Sample, by Community 138
VI-5	Summary of Statistical Information on Aspirations for, and Current Occupations of Children of White Sample Members, by Community 141
VI-6	Proportion of Farm Sample Members Making Responses Describing Characteristics of the Home, by Income Groups 145
VI-7	Proportion of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses Describing Family Interaction, by Income Groups 146
VI-8	Proportion of Farm Sample Members Making Responses Indicating Aspirations for Their Children, by Income Groups 149
VI-9	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses Describing Characteristics of the Home, by Income Groups 150
VI-10	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses Describing Family Interaction, by Income Groups 151
VI-11	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Responses Indicating Aspirations for Their Children, by Income Groups 153
VI-12	Summary of Statistical Information of the Indian Ancestry Samples on Home and Family Characteristics. 154

		<u>Page</u>
VII-1	Summary of Statistical Information on Physical Health, Medical Finance Problems and Dissatisfaction with Facilities for White Sample Members, by Community	162
VII-2	Statistical Summary of Mental Health Indices for White Sample Members, by Community	166
VII-3	Proportion of Subjects from Three Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Physical and Mental Health Indices	178
VII-4	Proportion of Subjects from Three Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Physical and Mental Health Indices	180
VII-5	Summary of Statistical Information on Health Problems for the Indian Ancestry Samples	183
VIII-1	Selected Responses to Questions Probing How White Subjects Felt About Their District and the People in it, by Study Area	186
VIII-2	Activities and Involvement in Community Life of White Sample Members, by Community	191
VIII-3	Poverty Indices and Perceptions and Attitudes Toward the Poor by White Sample Members, by Community	196
VIII-4	Proportions of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Reflecting Perceptions of the Community, by Income Groups	200
VIII-5	Proportions of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Reflecting Participation in Community Life, by Income Groups	201
VIII-6	Proportions of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Dealing with Perceptions of the Poor, by Income Groups	202
VIII-7	Proportions of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Reflecting Perceptions of the Community, by Income Groups	204
VIII-8	Proportions of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Reflecting Participation in Community Life, by Income Groups	206
VIII-9	Proportions of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Responses to Items Dealing with Perceptions of the Poor, by Income Groups	207
IX-1	Summary of Statistical Information for White Samples Pertaining to Sources of Information, by Community	211
IX-2	Summary of Statistical Information for White Samples Relating to Political Interest, Information and Involvement	216
IX-3	Summary of Statistical Indices for White Samples Relating to Apathetic Hopelessness	219
IX-4	Proportions of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Relating to Sources of Information, by Income Groups	221
IX-5	Proportions of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Relating to Political Involvement and Apathy, by Income Groups	223
IX-6	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Relating to Sources of Information, by Income Groups	224

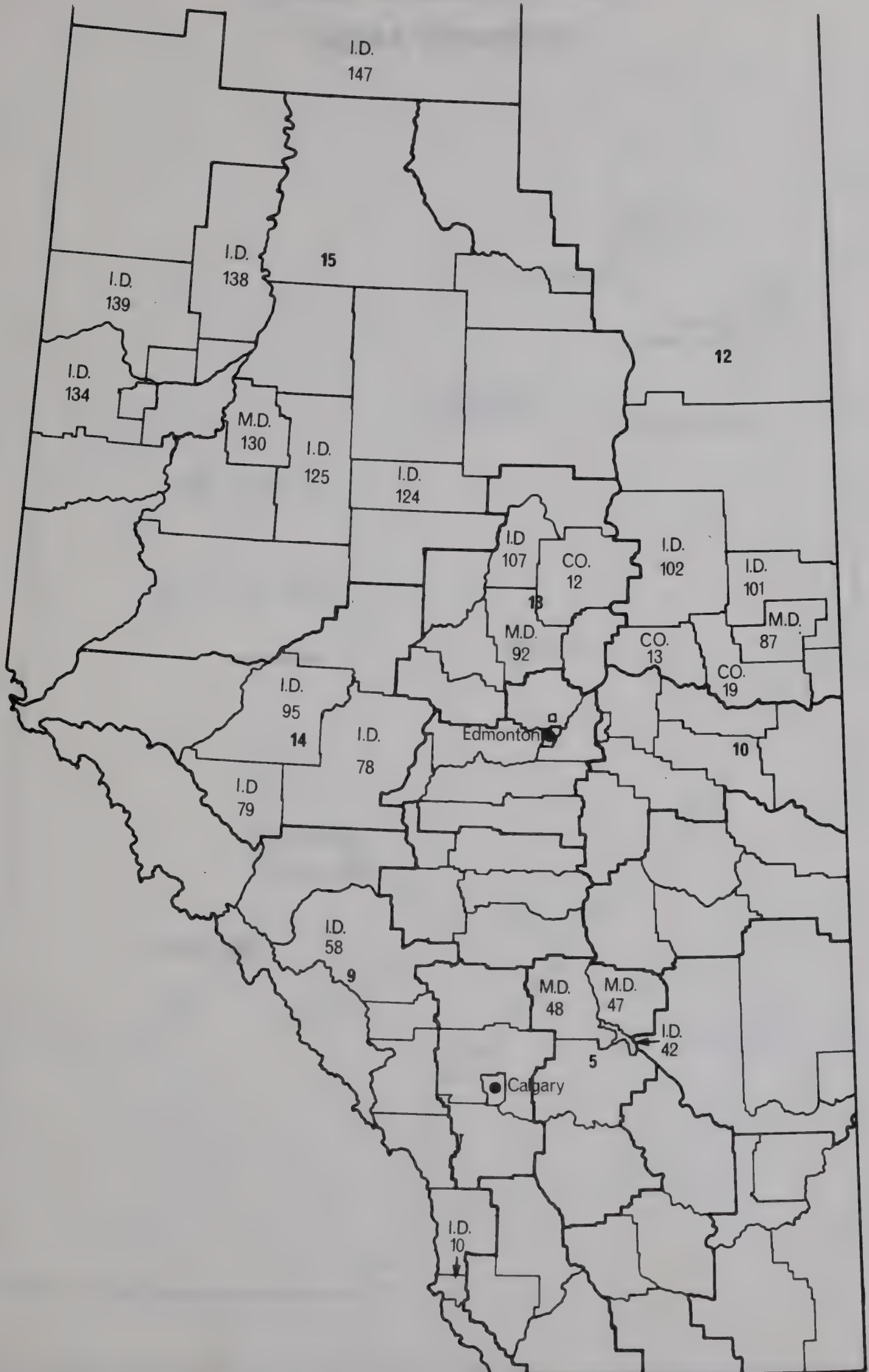
		<u>Page</u>
IX-7	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses to Items Relating to Political Involvement and Apathy, by Income Groups	225
IX-8	Summary of Statistical Information Relating to Contacts Beyond the Local Communities of Indian Ancestry Sample Members	227
X-1	Value Choices, With 1st and 2nd Choices Pooled, by Community	237
X-2	White Subjects Indicating They Would Most Like to be Independent, Successful or Well-Liked, by Community	239
X-3	Summary of the Ideal Type Value Orientation of the Middle and of the Lower Class	241
X-4	Mean Protestant Ethic Scores for White Sample Members, by Community	242
X-5	Mean Middle Class Orientation Area Scores and Total Scores, by Community	244
X-6	Total Scores and Area Scores of the Middle Class Orientation Inventory, by Community	245
X-7	Proportions of Farm Subjects in Three Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Indicators of Value Identifications	248
X-8	Proportions of Non-Farm Subjects in Three Income Groups Making Selected Responses to Indicators of Value Identification	249
XI-1	Summary of Statistical Information on Satisfaction and Prospects for White Sample Members, by Community	256
XI-2	Suggestions for Improvements and Services Needed Made by White Sample Members, by Community	259
XI-3	Proportion of Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses Indicative of Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction, by Income Groups	262
XI-4	Proportion of Non-Farm Sample Members Making Selected Responses Indicative of Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction, by Income Groups	263
XI-5	Summary of Statistical Information Relating to Problems in Indian Ancestry Areas	266
XII-1	Aspects of Poverty by Farm and Non-Farm White Samples	273
XII-2	Aspects of Poverty for Indian Ancestry Samples	280

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Maps	
Suggested Interview Areas: Community Opportunity Assessment	xi
Interview Areas	xii
Alberta Soil Zones and Interview Areas	xiii

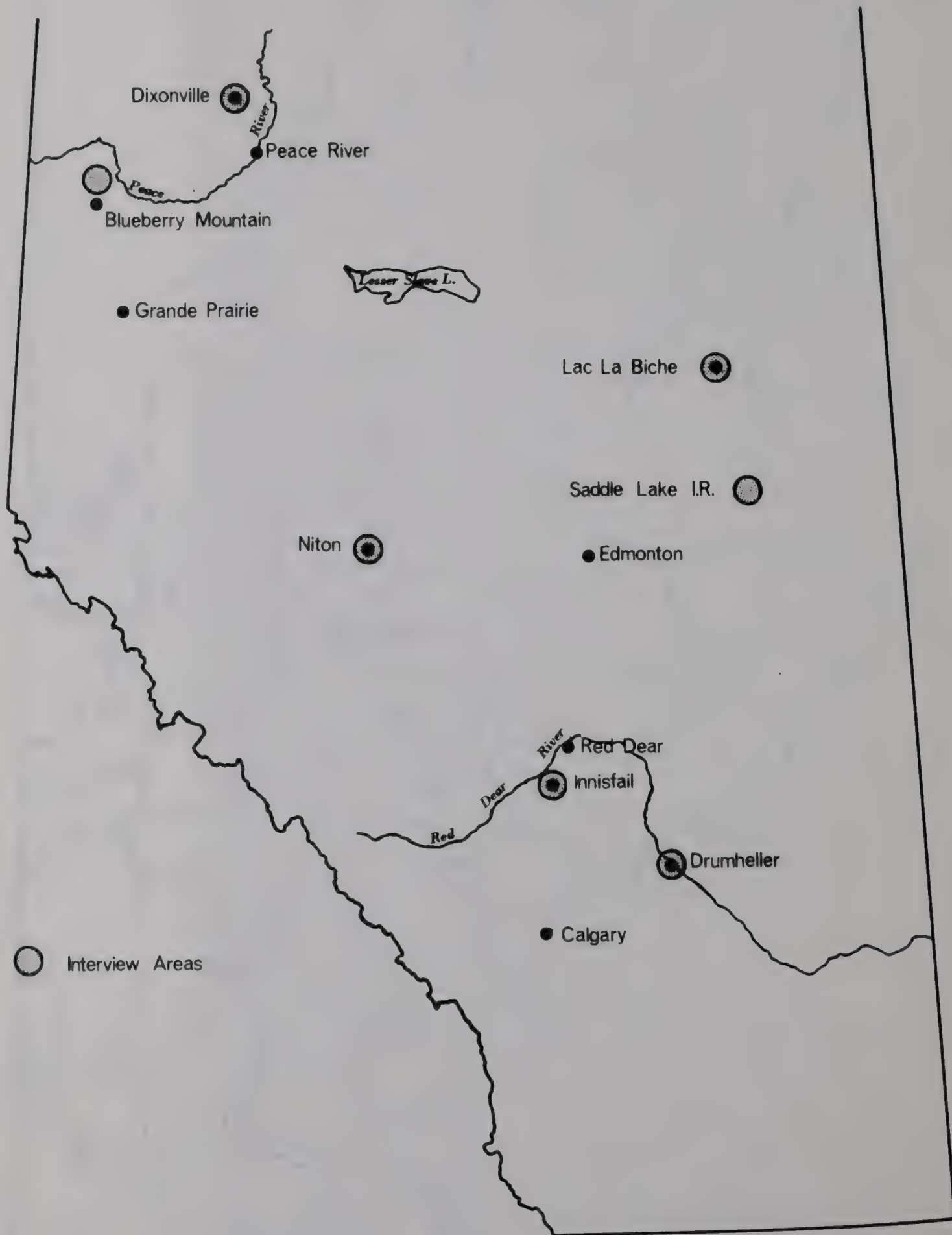
AREAS CONSIDERED FOR RESEARCH

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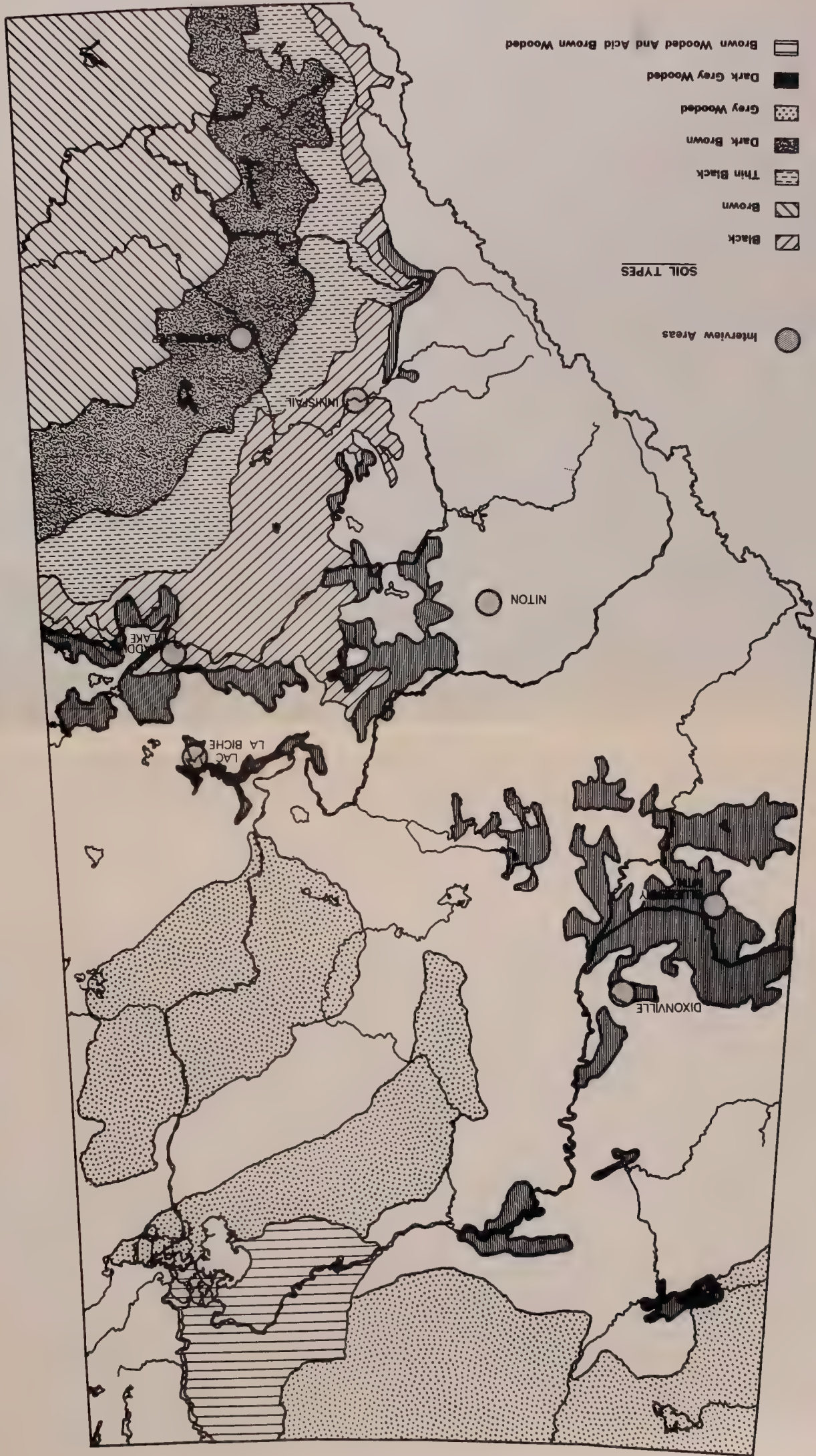


HUMAN RESOURCES SURVEY

INTERVIEW AREAS



SOIL ZONES OF ALBERTA AND INTERVIEW AREAS



RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND SOURCES OF DATA

Introduction

As the current "war on poverty programs" in the United States demonstrate, there are "pockets of poverty" which exist, which tend to persist, and which may perpetuate themselves indefinitely in even the most prosperous of countries. In such countries there are numbers of people who for one reason or another are not able to participate in the general affluence by seizing available opportunities. The inability may be passed on to children and grandchildren. This was the awareness which gave rise to the research program whose findings are reported in summary fashion in this report.

Richly endowed with oil reserves, fertile farmland, extensive forests, and scenic beauties which attract visitors from all over North America, Alberta is one of the most prosperous of Canadian provinces. But it is immediately apparent that there are areas of the province, segments of the population, which do not share in the general prosperity. The ARDA studies show that on a variety of different indices the northern part of the province is far less affluent than the southern part. This is, in part, because the most generally impoverished group in the province, the people of Indian ancestry, live in the North in disproportionately large numbers. The North has also been more recently settled than the South. Recency of settlement contributes to economic depression in two ways. First, there is a certain proportion of farmers who are in the midst of the struggle to become economically established on recently staked homesteads. Second, a number of the somewhat older farms are in submarginal areas unsuited to the small scale mixed farming enterprise which is being carried on. In many such areas it can be anticipated that the land usage will change in the near future to specialized farms, to larger units, lower intensity usage farms, to forest land, etc. But, for the present, the people will live on these farms, who cannot or will not leave, experience a standard of living well below the provincial average, and below established "minimum decency standards."

In addition to Indian ancestry people and submarginal farmers, there is a third group of Albertans living in a number of districts around the pro-

vince which has experienced severe economic depression during the last decade or more: the coal miners. Coal mining has been concentrated in four main areas of the province: in the Crowsnest Pass area of the southwestern part of the province, in the vicinity of Lethbridge in the southeastern part of the province, in the Red Deer River valley east and west of Drumheller, and in the districts along the Coal Branch Road in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains just west of Jasper.

During the preliminary discussions with some members of the provincial cabinet, which preceded the commissioning of the present research, this general information about provincial conditions provided guidelines. It was agreed that the studies which were to be carried out should cover this range of economically substandard groups in the province. It was also agreed that it would be desirable to select and study a prosperous farming area of the province in order to provide a basis for evaluation of the data from the less affluent districts. The selection of the actual areas and samples to be studied was left up to the Research Director. The remainder of this chapter will describe the procedures used and the sources of data.

The Selection of the Study Areas

Different selection procedures and criteria were used in selecting the Indian and non-Indian groups for study. In the case of the latter, it was possible to use statistical indices derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics data to identify the more economically depressed Census Divisions and the more depressed Improvement Districts within these Divisions. In the case of the Indian groups, there were other considerations which were influential in the final decision. Poverty among whites is sufficiently rare so it was important to identify areas where the proportion of low-income people was high. Among Indian groups, however, poverty is characteristic of all but a few groups, thus it was not a crucial selection criteria. Other considerations were more pressing, such as the difficulty of hiring trained researchers of Indian origin or the ability of the band members to speak English. Whether wholehearted co-operation could be counted on was a second consideration, and whether or not the group had been the target of experimental aid, community development or other special program was a third

consideration. Other important aspects of the situations of Indian groups was whether or not they had a very extensive contact with the white world and whether or not they had treaty Indian status.

In view of these considerations it was decided to carry on research in two Indian ancestry districts: one a treaty Indian reserve, and the other an area of non-reserve Indian or Metis settlement. The Saddle Lake Reserve was chosen as the treaty reserve to be studied, and the Lac La Biche district was chosen as the non-reserve area to be studied.

There were a number of reasons why the Saddle Lake Reserve was chosen. Although not one of the poorest of the reserves, it is certainly one of the more impoverished. While there are over 1,600 people who live on the reserve, there is no industry located on the reserve and, indeed, not even a store of any kind. Only seven out of 160 families are able to earn a self-sufficient livelihood on the reserve: four through farming and three through full-time wage employment on the reserve. During the year 1964, 75 per cent of the families on the reserve were receiving welfare aid.

Despite this low level of economic independence, the people at Saddle Lake are relatively well acculturated to white ways. All but the oldest speak English with reasonable fluency. They have many contacts with the white world off the reserve. Many have lived for varying periods of time in Edmonton, in the Hinton area cutting pulpwood, and in sugarbeet fields in the southern parts of the province. There is a rather constant stream of traffic between the reserve and some of the large white communities of the province.

These characteristics prompted the decision to select Saddle Lake as the treaty reserve to be included in the Opportunity Assessment Study. It is a distinctly impoverished area, as are the majority of the reserves in this province, but more importantly it is perhaps the most acculturated of the Northern Alberta reserves. As such it shows the full range of problems of adjustment characteristic of Indians in the process of adaptation to the white world.

There were two areas available for choice for the Metis or non-treaty Indian settlement study: the Lesser Slave Lake and the Lac La Biche districts. There are, of course, other groups of Metis people scattered around the province but most of them are too small to constitute adequate research units. Previous research had been carried out among the Metis at Lesser Slave Lake by sociologists from the University of Alberta.¹ The work done was careful, but limited in scope. Thus, we hoped initially to build on this previous work, since it had involved extensive compilation of information available in widely scattered reports but relatively little interviewing of local Metis inhabitants. This possibility was reluctantly given up, however, for several reasons: (1) Although there had been no general sociologically relevant interviewing of local people, all of the households had been contacted in connection with the previous research five years ago. It was felt that to trouble many of these same people again would create significant rapport problems which could be avoided by choosing another area. (2) More importantly, a Community Development worker had been working in several of the Lesser Slave Lake communities for about a year prior to the onset of field work, seeking to rouse people to more active awareness of, and attack upon, the problems of the area. Thus it was feared that interview data from this area would be "contaminated" by the Community Development worker's efforts. Such data would not be characteristic of the scores of other Metis communities scattered throughout Northern Alberta, and one of the purposes of this study is to produce more broadly representative data.

The Lac La Biche area not only offered the advantage of an area "uncontaminated" by previous research or the activity of Community Development workers, it also presented a variety of Metis subsistence activities in several distinct communities. Beaver Lake Colony is a provincially-established Metis Colony designated for cattle raising. The old mission clustered loosely around the Roman Catholic church west of Lac La Biche town, is the site of a fishing community. Lac La Biche itself has several clusters of Metis dwellings ("Moccasin Flats," "Stovepipe City," "Moonlight Hill") whose inhabitants include a disproportionate number of Metis women and their children of both Metis and white paternity. Owl

River, on the northeast shore of the lake, is more of a trapping community, although the trapping is rapidly dying out in that area. During the course of the work in Lac La Biche, information was collected in each of these four communities.

Selection of the Non-Indian Areas of Study

Selection of the non-Indian rural areas to be studied was a much more involved procedure. It involved three basic stages: first, choosing the Census Divisions within which the research would probably be carried out, next, narrowing the choice down to particular Improvement Districts within the Census Divisions, and finally, choosing the areas within the Improvement Districts which would be actually covered by researchers.

What criteria should be used in making these choice decisions? It was found that there were four manifestations of poverty for which relevant data were available. These manifestations of poverty were (1) under-employment, (2) low income, (3) high mortality rates, and (4) low levels of education. Data were available on all of these from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Unfortunately, in the case of all but the mortality rates, the data were based on the 1961 census. In the five years that had elapsed between the time that the census data were collected and the field work on the current study was begun, the Canadian population had increased from 18,238,000 to over twenty million, the population of Alberta had increased from 1,332,000 to over 1,464,000 and the rural portion of the Albertan population had increased from 489,000 to over 640,000. However, these 1961 census data were the most recent available and they were the ones on which the Census Division and Improvement District selections were made. In addition to these data, certain other census data were used for control purposes. Census tabulations of age, nativity, and ethnicity by Census Divisions were used in order to insure that particular Census Divisions were not over-represented in elderly people (which would have affected the mortality rates); or in Indian ancestry people (this aspect of the research was interested solely in white people); or in any particular ethnic group, since it was planned that these studies should be as broadly representative as possible.

The data on which the Census Division choices were made are found in Table 1. There is no need for a detailed description of these data here. The areas in the southern half of the province are, in general, the most prosperous, with the exception of Census Division Nine, the foothill fringe along the western border of the province, and Census Division Five (the Census Division in which Drumheller is located).

On the basis of these data, six Census Divisions were selected for more detailed study. They consisted of Divisions 12, 13 and 15 in the north of the province, 14, which lies to the east of Edmonton, and 5 and 9 mentioned above. Unfortunately, the data available for the more detailed analysis was less complete than the data which we have been discussing. The Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics does not publish data broken down by counties, municipalities, and Improvement Districts for Alberta. However, a few tabulations of census data on small land units had been produced for ARDA and these were obtained from the Provincial Bureau of Statistics, the Department of Agricultural Economics, and the Department of Geography of the University of Alberta. The data available here included age and sex distributions, farm income, off-farm employment of farmers, years of school completed by those no longer in school, ethnicity, and religious membership. These data were tabulated by census enumeration districts. In order to get information by Improvement Districts it was necessary to sum the data of the component enumeration districts for each of the Improvement Districts. In addition to these data, unpublished information was obtained from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on income and under-employment of wage and salary workers. Mortality data could not be obtained nor could current unemployment data be obtained for these small reporting units, although both provincial and federal authorities were contacted in an effort to obtain these data.

Again, there is no need to review in detail the picture which emerged from the data for the 102 sub-units (counties, municipalities, Improvement Districts, towns, hamlets, etc.) which go to make up these five Census Divisions. The data available were used to calculate four poverty manifestations:

INCOME, AGE, EDUCATION, NATIVITY, AND MORTALITY DATA, BY CENSUS DIVISION*

Census Division	INCOME		MORTALITY										EDUCATION		NATIVITY		ETHNICITY	
	Average Income for Males		Per 10,000 Population		Per 1,000 Population		AGE		Residents out of school with less than 4 yrs. schooling		Canadian -born		British Origins					
	Farm	Non-Farm Rural	Under \$3,000	Children Under Ten Yrs.		Adult	Males aged 55 and over		Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over	Males aged 55 and over
				%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
1	2949	3593	26	7	2.0	3	9.6	2	11.8	1	15	7	14	10	77	12	36	11
2	2384	2894	22	5	2.4	7	16.0	8	21.8	7	14	6	12	6	72	15	39	10
3	2359	2645	28	9	2.3	4	15.8	7	30.0	9	15	9	14	7	84	3	49	3
4	2431	3025	26	8	2.9	10	15.6	5	16.6	2	16	11	11	3	81	6	47	5
5	2446	2835	34	13	2.9	11	21.7	14	19.5	4	16	10	11	4	79	8	46	6
6	3014	3543	12	1	2.3	5	18.0	10	29.1	8	13	5	7	1	76	13	58	1
7	2627	3124	31	10	1.9	2	6.9	1	16.6	3	16	13	10	2	82	4	49	4
8	2920	3436	22	6	2.6	8	17.0	9	36.2	11	15	8	14	8	81	5	55	2
9	3139	3178	19	3	3.1	13	15.7	6	21.6	6	16	12	14	9	74	14	44	7
10	2607	3100	33	11	1.7	1	12.1	3	60.2	15	18	15	18	12	80	7	31	14
11	3083	3502	13	2	2.4	6	14.1	4	32.4	10	12	1	11	5	78	10	44	8
12	2948	3251	40	15	3.3	15	19.1	12	48.0	13	12	2	27	15	86	1	23	15
13	2320	2688	37	14	3.3	14	18.1	11	19.5	5	17	14	20	13	77	11	32	13
14	3140	3317	22	4	3.1	12	25.8	15	47.0	12	12	3	15	11	79	9	41	9
15	2470	2745	33	12	2.7	9	19.2	13	51.7	14	12	4	22	14	85	2	34	12

* Source - 1961 Census of Canada

one dealing with low educational attainment, one with under-employment and two dealing with income. The educational attainment index was the percentage of those who have left school having less than four years of formal schooling, the under-employment index was the percentage of wage and salary earners who worked less than 39 weeks per year and the income indices were the percentage of farms earning an income of less than \$2,500 annually and the average income of wage earners in the area. Three control variables were consulted: the proportion of the population comprised of men aged 15 to 35 (included to forestall choice of an area with a predominantly aged population), the proportion of Indian ancestry (to check on inflation by Indians of the poverty manifestation indices for the areas), and the proportion of British origins (to permit identification of extremely British or extremely non-British areas). Data on the number of farms and number of men in the Improvement Districts was tabulated in order to insure that there would be a large enough population to make study of the area worthwhile.

Making use of these data, the choices were narrowed down to 21 possible Improvement Districts, Counties or Municipalities, which are identified on the map in Figure 1. The statistical characteristics of these areas are summarized in Table 2. The final selection of areas was made as a result of visits to the administrative centers which serviced these 21 areas, and there talking with social workers in the Provincial Welfare Department, district agriculturalists, ARDA personnel, workers in the Department of Lands and Forests, etc. The centers visited included Bonneville, St. Paul, Peace River, Grande Prairie, Edson, Drumheller and Blairmore. In every place the help and co-operation received from the provincial employees was unstinted.

On the basis of these contacts, the areas around Bonneville (I. D. 's 101 and 102, and M. D. 87), around St. Paul (Co. 13), the areas of Census Division 13 (I. D. 107, M. D. 92 and Co. 12) and Blairmore (I. D. 's 10 and 58) were eliminated from further consideration. The possible areas around Bonneville were eliminated because ARDA-sponsored research conducted the previous year, during the summer of 1965, had covered the more depressed areas in the division and it seemed unwise to have interviewers again troubling residents, despite the fact that the content of the schedule used in

CHAPTER I - TABLE 2

INFORMATION ON POPULATION, EMPLOYMENT, EARNINGS, EDUCATION, AGE, AND ETHNICITY FOR SELECTED IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS

Census Div. & Subdiv.	Number of Farms	Number of Men and Less	Men Worked 39 Weeks		Farm Sales Less Than \$2,500 Per Year		Average Earnings Male	Less Than 4 Yrs. of School for All Out of School		Males Aged 20-35 Yrs.		British Origin		Indian and Eskimo	
			Total	%	Total	%		Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
C.D. 5 M.D. 47	719	223	105	36.0	14.6	14.6	\$2,215	539	26.0	242	15.1	1,667	57.3	-	-
M.D. 48	1,232	655	162	34.0	13.0	13.0	2,059	1,281	25.8	604	16.5	2,900	41.9	11	0.2
I.D. 42 & 42A (Drumheller)	26	807	9	29.2	34.6	34.6	5,456	1,500	26.8	-	-	3,475	47.6	3	0.04
I.D. 58	86	105	50	43.5	58.1	58.1	3,015	108	25.0	74	23.0	301	56.4	2	0.4
M.D. 87															
(Blairmore)	16	437	10	42.8	62.5	62.5	3,159	343	34.0	109	15.3	332	25.4	-	-
I.D. 101	277	174	164	64.4	59.2	59.2	1,613	609	48.0	199	12.2	528	27.1	247	12.7
I.D. 87															
(Bonnyville)	502	1,824	445	15.0	55.0	55.0	3,883	1,770	41.0	869	20.0	2,199	27.0	180	2.0
I.D. 102	535	375	352	64.5	66.0	66.0	1,670	1,929	53.0	425	15.5	582	11.7	728	14.6
Co. 13	463	261	295	56.0	64.0	64.0	1,968	2,021	46.0	539	16.4	3,778	3.8	1,654	27.0
Co. 19 (St. Paul)	1,292	494	1,272	42.0	47.0	47.0	2,119	2,000	38.0	654	15.6	1,431	18.1	540	6.8
I.D. 107	155	228	118	46.5	76.0	76.0	2,404	496	38.0	172	16.7	685	36.9	112	6.0
Co. 12	742	463	742	45.4	57.0	57.0	1,963	1,697	34.0	712	15.5	1,803	26.6	118	1.7
M.D. 92	1,492	579	612	44.2	41.0	41.0	2,204	1,748	30.4	688	16.1	2,754	35.0	17	0.2
I.D. 78	479	374	348	40.9	73.0	73.0	2,766	842	32.0	341	17.4	1,209	35.0	9	0.3
I.D. 95	169	667	118	40.8	70.0	70.0	2,824	769	35.0	309	19.5	1,136	40.0	94	3.3
I.D. 79	-	230	-	39.0	-	-	3,300	149	30.7	116	28.6	159	25.7	-	-
I.D. 139	664	198	390	50.0	59.0	59.0	1,653	736	36.0	307	19.5	945	34.1	23	0.8
I.D. 138	762	239	445	47.0	58.0	58.0	1,901	717	31.0	314	17.6	1,101	34.5	29	0.9
I.D. 125	424	242	244	55.8	58.0	58.0	1,728	1,526	54.0	346	17.1	922	24.5	1,416	37.7
M.D. 130	822	263	371	57.8	45.0	45.0	2,045	-	-	424	18.9	310	7.6	61	1.3
I.D. 147	226	237	158	51.1	69.9	69.9	1,854	702	87.0	119	23.2	5	0.5	965	98.9
I.D. 134	661	164	384	50.0	54.8	54.8	2,084	652	34.0	250	17.8	924	36.9	22	0.9
I.D. 124	178	327	86	47.0	48.3	48.3	2,471	1,389	52.0	346	17.4	796	21.4	1,412	38.0

the current study overlapped but little with the interview schedule used in the ARDA research. The apparent depression of some of the areas around St. Paul was accounted for by large Indian populations. These areas were accordingly discarded from further consideration. The areas in Census Division 13 were excluded, in some cases, because the population was quite sparse, and in others because they were definitely more prosperous than other districts on the list.

It will be recalled that the initial plans called for study of one coal mining area. Three areas in the province were closely examined in this connection: the Coalbranch District south of Hinton, I.D. 42, the valley of the Red Deer River immediately east and west of Drumheller, and the Crowsnest Pass District in the southwestern corner of the province. The first one of these alternatives was easily discarded (1) because it had become largely depopulated, (2) because the few people remaining in the area had no difficulty obtaining adequately paying work in the expanding pulp industry that has developed in that region during the last few years, and (3) an ARDA-sponsored study of the area was just being completed.

The Crowsnest Pass District was also eliminated because it is well on the road to economic recovery from the low which it experienced between five and ten years ago. This recovery is the result of (1) some depopulation of the area, (2) recent expansion of mining on both sides of the Alberta-British Columbia border as a result of new contracts for the export of coal to Japan, (3) expanded employment in lumbering industries, and (4) the movement of new industry into the area since its declaration as an economic disaster area, notably the Philips cable factory which has a payroll of 125.

In contrast to these areas, the Drumheller mining areas do not yet show any significant signs of recovery. Indeed, the recession of mining in this area is yet in progress since one mine shut down in January of 1966, leaving only one mine in operation. The only significant new employment prospect in the area is the opening of a federal penitentiary which is currently under construction, but neither the construction nor the operation of that institution will provide much employment for ex-miners. On the other hand, the proximity of the area to the job opportunities which Calgary offers,

less than one hundred miles away, should be mentioned. This is countered, however, by the reports of social workers in the area that many local people are reluctant to leave and that the deteriorated and cheap "shack" housing in the area tends to attract people from a rather large surrounding area who are "down and out." They also reported considerable family disorganization in the area: particularly child neglect, non-support and infidelity in families where the husband often works some distance away and returns home only on weekends. These circumstances seemed to offer ample justification for the inclusion of this area in a study of rural poverty, and for its choice over either the Coalbranch or the Crowsnest Pass areas.

Within Improvement District 42, to the east and west of Drumheller and outside of its city limits, there are no less than nine hamlets, each one clustered around one or more now defunct mines. There seemed to be no reason to interview residents of all these communities; instead it was decided to select several which would be representative of the hamlets in the area. This selection was made as a result of a tour of the whole area with two social workers who served the area. The areas selected included Rosedale, Wayne, Plug Street, and Newcastle. Rosedale and Wayne are two neighboring hamlets to the west of Drumheller, and Plug Street and Newcastle are two areas on the eastern city limits of Drumheller, adjoining each other and thus constituting a single unit.

These areas are representative of the poorer hamlets in I. D. 42, although not of the poorest (East Coulee), according to some informants contacted during interviewing in the areas. The Rosedale-Wayne hamlets were included because it was the social workers' consensus that there was a concentration of large families in that area. The Plug Street-Newcastle area was selected as representative of a younger population which, the social workers suggested, included a larger number of single people.

The locations of the areas which were finally chosen for study are found on the map in Figure 2.

The rural farm poverty areas which were chosen for study consisted of the area around Dixonville in I. D. 138, north of Peace River; the Blueberry Mountain area in I. D. 134, northwest of Spirit River; and the area around Niton

Junction in I. D. 78, east of Edson. All of these areas were chosen because the Public Welfare Offices reported them to contain unusually high proportions of welfare cases, and because they were reported to have high proportions of small farmers who were struggling hard to "get by." Moreover, they form an interesting continuum since most of the homesteading in the Niton area was done about thirty to forty years ago, whereas the Dixonville area was homesteaded about twenty to thirty years ago, and active homesteading is still going on in the Blueberry Mountain area.

The Comparison Area

Early in the planning of the present study it was agreed to include a detailed study of a prosperous area to provide a basis for comparison with the marginal and depressed rural areas which are the main objects of this investigation. It was decided that as nearly as possible it should be (1) distinctly prosperous, (2) predominantly mixed farming, and (3) not too close to either Edmonton or Calgary. The reason for (1) is self-explanatory, since our interest was in a contrasting area; similarly there was little point in comparing depressed mixed farming areas with grain or other specialized farming areas. Since all of the depressed farming areas were over 100 miles from the metropolitan areas of the province and cut-off from the employment opportunities available there, it was decided that the prosperous comparison area should also be as remotely situated as possible.

Rather than go through the elaborate procedures that were utilized in the selection of the depressed areas it was decided to choose the area on the basis of consensus of farm experts in Edmonton. Accordingly, officials in the Farmers' Union of Alberta and the Provincial Division of Agricultural Economics were contacted and asked to identify what in their opinion was the most prosperous mixed farming district in the province. Without hesitation and without exception they answered the district around Innisfail. The unanimity of their responses was taken as an indication of the validity of the judgement and, since this district was not unduly close to either of the two metropolitan areas, it was decided to make a final choice in that vicinity. To this end, the District Agriculturist for the area in Red

Deer, and several well-informed, long-term residents of the District of Innisfail were consulted in the final choice of an area. It was to be a farming area which was rather consistently prosperous, where the farmers have a minimum of income from oil royalty or right-of-way payments and a minimum of employment at Penhold Air Base or other wage and salary positions in the area. This resulted in the choice of the area surrounding the town of Innisfail.

In a number of cases it proved to be useful and possible to make the boundaries of the interview area correspond roughly with the boundaries of the high school district. This was useful because one further aspect of the study involved obtaining responses to the Opportunities for Canadian Youth schedules for subjects in Grades nine through twelve in the areas selected for the study.² These schedules obtained information on ability, awareness of occupational opportunities, and occupation aspirations. Co-ordinating the boundaries of the study areas with the boundaries of the high school districts means that it is possible to match the Canadian Youth schedules with the interview schedules obtained from their parents in many cases. The coincidence of interview areas and high school districts was achieved in the case of Dixonville, Niton Junction, and Innisfail areas. It was not feasible in the case of I.D. 42 because of the size of that high school district, nor was it feasible in the case of the two Indian ancestry groups.

The Sources of Data

Four sources of data were used in the present study: agency records, published data, formal and informal interview data, and participant observation data. The published data came from a variety of sources: census reports, Indian Affairs reports, ARDA studies, local histories, Community Development studies, etc. Agency records consulted included Department of Public Welfare records, school records, Indian Affairs Branch records, nursing station records, Metis Rehabilitation Branch records, District Agriculturists' records, and records of the Department of Lands and Forests.

The informal interview and participant observation data were collected in many different contexts. Interviewers attended church, went to picnics, dances, barbecues, spent evenings in beer parlors, attended public meetings and chatted with interviewees after an interview was over. In all of these

activities the concern of the interviewer was to learn more about the communities in which they were working, the people in these communities, and what these people thought of the situations in which they found themselves, of their prospects, their problems, their plans, and of poverty in the district. In some communities, such as Dixonville, the interviewers became widely acquainted and participated in many community social activities. In others, such as Innisfail, the interviewers had little opportunity to enter into local social life.

Interviewers also sought out ministers, teachers, local leaders, successful farmers and storekeepers to interview informally. They inquired into the history of the area, the neighborliness and community spirit, the industriousness of the populace, job prospects, local problems and needed changes and improvements. They attended to the spontaneous comments and observations that were made during the course of these interviews.

The Formal Interviews

Interviewing Indian Ancestry People.

Different interview procedures were called for in the Indian ancestry areas from those used in the non-Indian communities. In the first place, in the former areas it was necessary to obtain the formal permission of the Tribal Council on the Saddle Lake Reserve and of the Colony Council on the Beaver Lake Colony before interviewers could begin work in these areas. We attempted to minimize the problems of suspicion and establishment of rapport by having two Indian interviewers, both women, on each of these areas. Indian women interviewers were chosen because of their greater availability than men, and because it was anticipated that there would be more difficulty interviewing Indian women than Indian men.

We sought to obtain information in both Indian studies on housing, sources and amounts of income, work experience, work preferences and aspirations, consumption patterns, health problems, education experience, attitudes toward residential, segregated day and integrated schools, kinds of contacts with whites and the consequences of these contacts, kinds of city experience and attitudes toward the city, experience with and attitudes toward alcohol, and experience of welfare aid and attitudes toward welfare.

In time, after interviewers became known to the people in the area in which they were working, an interview schedule was developed, with the items flexibly stated to be adapted to the communication situation of the interviewee. Copies of these schedules for Saddle Lake and for Lac La Biche are found in Appendix G, Parts III and IV.

In addition to the above data obtained from interviewees, data were also obtained from school records, the records of the Public Welfare Department and the Welfare Officer of the Indian Affairs Branch, Public Health Department, nursing station, etc.

Interviews in Non-Indian Districts.

In the white areas--Dixonville, Blueberry Mountain, Niton Junction, Innisfail, and Drumheller--more formal interview procedures could be and were used. The initial planning called for obtaining information from interviewees in the following seven areas:

1. Background--ethnicity, nativity, education, home area, childhood background, etc.
2. Current situation--employment, income, capital resources, health, debts, values, family size.
3. How subjects got into their current situation--work and mobility histories, movement, decision-making processes, handicaps and obstacles encountered, improvement attempts.
4. How subjects planned to or could conceive of improving their situation--plans and ideals for the future, concrete steps taken, kinds of action possible in the event of receiving aid, etc.
5. Subjects perceptions of their situation--evaluations of their situation, of how well they are "getting ahead," of the area in which they live, of their situations compared with those of their siblings.
6. Perceptions of poverty in the area--its characteristics, causes, and possible cures which would be effective in that area.
7. Needed improvements in the area, including new or expanded facilities and services.

A number of items used in this study were drawn from other poverty studies which have been made in other parts of Canada and a number were drawn from other studies which have been made by members of the Sociology Department of the University of Alberta. Many of the questions were devised explicitly for use in the present study. All of the items were pretested two or more times prior to use in the present study. At least one pretest took place in outlying areas within 125 miles of Edmonton, and one on the periph-

ery of the final interview area. Over 150 pretest interviews were conducted during the ten-day period in which a final form of the interview schedule was arrived at.

The research strategy called for the interviewing of both husband and wife, where possible, in the family units selected for inclusion in the sample. Some questions were asked only of men--information about farm operation, for example. Some questions were asked only of women--concerning numbers of children, their educational attainments, their current occupations and places of residence, etc. All of the attitude items were asked of both. Not only were there somewhat different schedules for men and women; there were significant differences between the schedules used in the rural farm areas--Dixonville, Niton, Innisfail--and in I. D. 42.

Copies of the rural farm schedules and of the Drumheller schedules are found in Appendix G, Parts I and II. The content of these schedules may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. Content common to all schedules:

- Birthplaces of respondent, parents and grandparents.
- Education of respondent and parents.
- Occupation of parents.
- Residential history of respondent.
- Reasons for past moves, expectations of future moves.
- Information on the decision-making process in connection with past and future moves.
- Information on farm size, type and value from current farmers and from ex-farmers.
- Information on debts, amounts, interest rates, types, lenders.
- Information on governmental assistance received, including welfare.
- Information on part-time, including off-farm, employment.
- Information on all sources and amounts of income.
- Information on future plans and aspirations.
- Information on "ideal" plans and aspirations (i. e. "if you could get the help it would take").
- Information on aspirations for sons and for daughters.
- Information on political involvement, community activities, and leadership roles.
- Information on leisure time activities, including reading patterns, and television preferences.
- Information on sources of information.
- Scale measuring dedication to hard work.
- Information concerning perceptions of poverty in the area: characteristics, causes, possible cures.
- Information on medical expenses and medical care coverage.
- Information on value commitments of the respondent.
- Identification and characterization of community leaders.
- Information on disagreements with children and discord within the family.
- Information on accessibility of schools, medical facilities, and general stores.

Information on prosperity of respondent in comparison with his brothers and brothers-in-law.

Information on psychosomatic symptoms of the respondent.

Information on home facilities.

2. Questions asked only of farm men:

Farm size, land use, and crop yields.

Produce and machinery prices, and possibilities of improving these prices for the farmer.

Information on improvements and expansions planned on the farm.

3. Questions asked only of non-farm men:

Detailed occupational history, including hours, wages, durations of employment, reasons for termination of employment, etc.

Plans in event of loss of job during the summer, the winter, or the next two years.

Information on jobs the respondent would refuse because they are "below" him.

Information on labor union membership and attitudes toward labor unions.

4. Questions asked only of women:

Information on illness among all members of the family.

Information on children, number (including premature deaths), educational attainments, and current occupations and places of residence.

Information on facilities and amenities in the home (i. e. construction, electricity, indoor bathroom, television, deep-freeze, etc.).

The Field Work

Field work began on the 12th of May and ended on the 10th of August.

In the case of interviewers working among Indian ancestry people, it involved moving immediately out to the Beaver Lake Metis Colony (south of Lac La Biche) and to the Saddle Lake Reserve so that the time-consuming process of becoming known, allaying mistrust, and establishing of rapport in these Indian areas could begin. In the case of interviewing among non-Indians, two weeks were taken up in pretesting the interview schedules. On four different occasions the interviewers went out--three times to outlying areas, north, east, and west of Edmonton--with tentative drafts of portions of the questionnaire. Each of these pretesting experiences was followed by a lengthy conference on whether the questionnaire was "working" as it was supposed to, whether there were better ways of getting at the information desired--particularly in attempts to ascertain attitudes--and whether changes in wording would contribute to the clarity of the item.

Finally, on May 26th the four remaining research teams departed for their respective areas--Dixonville, Niton, Innisfail and Drumheller. A day or two were spent on a final pretest in the vicinity of the study area but outside the boundaries of the study zone proper. There was a last discussion of the interview results with the Research Director and, on the basis of this last round of consultations, a few items were deleted and a few additional wording clarifications were made. The work of data collection began.

The Sample in Indian Ancestry Areas

Once again it is necessary to draw distinctions between the sampling procedures employed in the Indian and non-Indian study areas. In the case of the latter it was possible to determine rather accurately who was living in the study area and to draw a sample from this group. In the case of the former, because of the greater mobility of the Indian populace, it was more difficult to establish a sampling base. In the Lac La Biche area, as nearly as could be established, there was, during the period from May 15th to July 11th, 1966, a total of 149 Metis households: 61 in the Kikino area of the Beaver Lake Colony, 21 in the old Mission area, 49 in the area around the town of Lac La Biche, and 18 in the Owl River area. We attempted to obtain a 100 per cent sample of the Metis households in this area. Interviews were held with members of 124 of these households. Many of the households which were not contacted were occupied by pensioners. In a number of cases, these posed interviewing problems because the people spoke only Cree and none of the interviewers in the Lac La Biche area spoke Cree. Less intensive efforts were made to contact elderly people when they were not found at home on a first visit since the major interest of this study is on those who are yet economically active.

It was even more difficult to obtain a random sample of the people in the Good Fish Lake and the Saddle Lake Bands. The task should have been easier because the Indian Affairs Branch does maintain an up-to-date list of treaty Indians who are members of the reserve. However, since no more than ten per cent of the reserve members are able to support themselves on the reserve there is a great deal of movement to and from the reserve. Sad-

dle Lake Reserve members regularly find work cutting pulp in the Hinton area, in the sugar beet fields around Lethbridge, in various occupations in Edmonton, as well as occasional work closer to the reserve. The result is that of a total of about 1,550 Indians who are legally members of the Saddle Lake Reserve (on May 15th, 1966), there were approximately 1,200 actually on the reserve. Five weeks later, by the 20th of June, there were perhaps only 650.

The following procedures were devised to cope with the sampling problem which this situation presented. A list of members of the Saddle Lake Band was obtained from the Indian Affairs Branch together with information on the amount of welfare money each had received. On the basis of this information, the band members were classified as to whether they were self-sufficient (no welfare: 176 members), received occasional welfare (one to three months per year: 301 members), frequent welfare (three to nine months: 728 members), or permanent welfare (nine to 12 months: 157 members). Samples were then drawn from each of these welfare recipient categories. Attempts were then made to interview those on the sample list. Respondent co-operation was excellent; there were no refusals among the 102 families actually contacted. However, it was found that many of the people whose names were included in the sample were not available during the period of active interviewing. Accordingly, the decision was made to try to contact them during the Treaty Day (July 7th) celebrations, a time when virtually the entire membership of the band returns to the reserve to receive their treaty money and join in the three days of festivities which mark the occasion. Needless to say, this was not an optimum interviewing occasion, and many of those whom we wished to see could not be located and a number of those who were located were not available for interviewing. Accordingly, for those we were not able to contact, substitutions were made from the same welfare reciprocity category. In this way a total of 102 members of the Saddle Lake Band were interviewed.

There were three additional small groups of respondents who were interviewed in connection with the Saddle Lake study: a group working in the beet fields around Lethbridge, a group on Good Fish Lake, and a small

group in various correctional institutions in Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan.

Two interviewers were sent to Lethbridge for a week to interview workers from the Saddle Lake Reserve who were working in the fields. This was done because it was feared that since the sample was being drawn primarily from those who remained on the reserve during the summer it would be unrepresentative of the more active and perhaps ambitious members of the band who were willing to travel considerable distances looking for work. Also we wished to see at first hand the conditions under which the Indian beet workers lived and worked around Lethbridge. Unfortunately, this proved to be a rather costly and unprofitable attempt. By the last week in June, when the interviewers arrived in Lethbridge, the Saddle Lake Indians had become widely scattered and very difficult to locate. In four very full days during which they drove 400 miles, the two interviewers were able to locate and interview 27 beet workers from the Saddle Lake Band.

When we sought permission from the Saddle Lake Tribal Council to do the study, the Council willingly gave permission, but emphasized that they would like us to give some attention to the Good Fish Lake Band as well, since it is a part of the Saddle Lake Reserve. Accordingly, a small number of both formal and informal interviews were made on the Good Fish Lake Reserve. The primary purpose was to discover whether there are any peculiar problems there which differ from those in the Saddle Lake Band. The general finding was negative.

Since one of the interests of this study is the problems of Indians who attempt to become more fully adjusted or integrated into white society, it seemed important to try to interview those who had tried and failed. It is common knowledge that the rate of imprisonment of Indians in Alberta gaols is higher than the rate of imprisonment of non-Indians. In fact, rough estimates suggest the rate is between 40 and 50 times higher. Those imprisoned are clearly those who have left the reserve and, in at least the narrowly legal sense, failed to make adequate adjustment to white society. Accordingly, we decided to interview Indians and Metis from the study areas--both men and women--who were in the correctional institutions in and around Edmonton.³

The number of Indian inmates of these institutions who were from the Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake Agency areas turned out to be very small, and only five Indian men and six Indian women were interviewed. The information and insights which they contributed to our understanding of the pitfalls in the way of the native background person seeking to become adjusted to white society were most valuable.

The Sample in the White Areas of Study

Establishment of a population to be sampled was much more easily done in the white areas than it was in the Indian areas. True, the area around Innisfail, in County Number 23, was the only area for which up-to-date property ownership maps were available. However, it was usually possible in the other areas to contact official or unofficial informants who were well-acquainted with the residents of the district who were helpful in filling in property ownership maps. Thus it was possible to establish the number of resident households in an area, and to decide upon an appropriate sample ratio.

In both the Dixonville and the Blueberry Mountain districts, a 100 per cent sampling ratio was decided upon. This was closely achieved in Dixonville, with the exception of a few families which were never found at home, and a number of men who were working away from home whom we were never able to catch at home on weekends.

In the case of Blueberry Mountain, this was also closely achieved. Since the interview team was in this area for a shorter period of time than it was in Dixonville, it was able to make fewer "call backs" and so the sample loss was higher because some were not found at home. Moreover, since it is an area which is yet being actively homesteaded, there were a few households at the end of obscure or temporarily impassable roads which were not interviewed. In this area it was possible to interview one or more members in 46 households.

In Niton the initial plan was to interview 50 per cent of the households in the delimited interview area. However, it was discovered that a sizable proportion of the residents, perhaps 25 to 30 in all, were pensioners, and another group were rather wealthy, large-scale farmers. Following re-

ceipt of this information, the sampling design was changed to include 100 per cent of the households, excluding the above two categories. Difficulty was encountered in this area with suspicious, often recluse, bachelor farmers who refused to be interviewed and on occasion angrily ran the interviewers off their farms. The result was that a total of 123 interviews were actually held with one or more members of 70 households.

As noted previously, sampling decisions were easiest of all to make in the case of Innisfail. A sampling ratio of one-third of those residing in the study area was decided upon and interviews were completed in 59 households in the area.

In Improvement District No. 42 around Drumheller, it was again difficult to discover the number of households in the area. On the basis of what proved to be somewhat fragmentary information it was decided to interview 100 per cent of the non-pensioners in the Wayne-Rosedale area. It turned out there were a larger number of non-pensioner households here than was earlier supposed. The excess was dealt with, in part, by eliminating prosperous people and/or those temporarily assigned to the area, such as school teachers.

In the Plug Street-Newcastle area, a sampling ratio of one in three was decided upon. Interviews were actually held in 130 households in these two sections of I. D. 42.

The Analysis of the Data

The processing of the interview data was as follows. In the last stage of each interview the interviewer checked over the completed schedule to insure that there had been no inadvertent omissions. Shortly thereafter, within 24 hours in most cases, the completed schedule was read by another interviewer, as another check upon inadvertent omissions, illegible handwriting and answers incompletely recorded. In most cases the interview was still strong enough in the memory of the interviewer that he was able to correct any difficulty. In some cases it was necessary to pay another visit to the interviewee to obtain the missing information.

At that point the interview was sent to the Director's office in Edmonton. Here the information was coded for punching on IBM cards for com-

puter analysis. Each interview schedule was coded twice, independently, in order to eliminate coding errors. Nine IBM cards were used in recording the information from each interview schedule.

Essentially the same procedures were followed in the case of the interview schedules which were eventually devised for the quick recording of information in the Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake Indian areas. Many of the items on the Lac La Biche and the Saddle Lake schedules were identical. Some were different because they related to issues which were peculiarly appropriate to a particular area (i. e. questions dealing with residential schools were appropriate to the treaty Indians but were not relevant to Metis). Again, Indian schedules were coded and the data were punched on IBM cards.

The Remainder of this Report

This brief section concludes the description of the methodology of this study and the procedures of data collection which were used. The remainder of this report contains a much abbreviated summary of the findings of the study.

The plan in organizing this report has been to make available to the reader as much or as little information on various aspects of the work as he may be interested in. This has been done by including in the body of the report a statement of the main findings. To this has been added a series of appendices which present in detail the results of each of the six individual field studies. If the reader is particularly interested in the Lac La Biche, the Drumheller, or the Dixonville-Blueberry Mountain study, he can turn to the appropriate appendix and find a description of the geography, history, and contemporary situation of the area, the field work procedures and problems, and the results of that particular research.

For the benefit of readers who want to make comparisons between the different study areas, the same basic outline was followed in writing the appendices dealing with each of the field studies done in the white communities. This outline, in brief form, is as follows:

I Background

- a) Geographical location of the area studied.
- b) Geological description of the area.
- c) Climate.
- d) History of the settlement and of the economic and social development.
- e) Present land use patterns.
- f) Present economics and social conditions.

II The Resident: Background Characteristics

- a) Ethnic.
- b) Marital.
- c) Age and sex.
- d) Geographical.
- e) Educational.
- f) Occupational.

III The Farm and Other Sources of Income

- a) Type.
- b) Size.

IV Economic State

- a) Value of holdings.
- b) Debts.
- c) Financial difficulties.
- d) Productivity/Expansion.
- e) Help (hired and/or family).
- f) Non- or off-farm work.
- g) Income.

V Plans and Aspirations

- a) Present plans.
- b) Plans with financial assistance.
- c) Plans "if you could do anything at all."

VI Home and Family

- a) Home.
- b) Family size and birth control views.
- c) Health.
- d) Relative prosperity.
- e) Harmony.
- f) Aspirations for children.

VII Leisure

- a) Sources of information.
- b) Leisure time activities and preferences.

VIII Attitudes and Values

- a) Anomie.
- b) Work values.
- c) Middle class orientation values.

IX Community

- a) Perceptions of community.
- b) Ties to community.
- c) Friends and neighbors.
- d) Community leaders.
- e) Poverty in the community.
- f) Involvement and leadership in the community:
 - farm organizations
 - church
 - politics
 - other organizations

X Assessment of Situation

- a) Reasons for coming and staying and for wanting to leave.
- b) Perceived problems.

XI Summary and Recommendations

- a) Indications of Poverty in the Community.
- b) Prospects and Resources for Rehabilitation.
- c) Recommendations.

Because of the differences in relevant questions that could be asked, and the differences in the available data, it was not practical to use this outline in writing the appendices dealing with the Indian communities. However, as nearly as possible, the same outline was used in writing both the Saddle Lake and the Lac La Biche Appendices. This outline is as follows:

I Methodological Procedure

- a) The term "Metis," meaning of.
- b) Selection of the area for investigation.
- c) Description of the four settlements.
- d) Method of sampling.
- e) Rationale for assessment of human resources.
- f) Special problems and difficulties.

II The Area of the Study: Lac La Biche, Alberta

- a) Geographical and geological information.
- b) Climate.
- c) Soil and land use.
- d) Historical sketch of the area.

III The Metis of the Lac La Biche Area: The Current Setting

- a) Population.
- b) Housing.
- c) Diet.
- d) Health.
- e) Water.
- f) Summary of the current setting.

IV The Metis of the Lac La Biche Area: Forms of Social Organization

- a) Extended kinship relations.
- b) The nuclear family.
- c) Parent-child relations.
- d) Peer groups.
- e) Wider social relations.
- f) The colony as a form of social organization.
- g) Summary of social organization.

V The Metis of the Lac La Biche Area: The Economic Situation

- a) The regional economy.
- b) The local economy.
- c) Attitudes toward work and welfare.
- d) Consumption patterns.
- e) Summary of the economic situation.

VI The Metis of the Lac La Biche Area: Relations with the Larger Society

- a) Transportation and communication.
- b) Nearby towns and the city.
- c) Channels of contact with the larger society.
- d) Discrimination and adjustment patterns.
- e) Summary of Metis relations with the larger society.

VII The Metis of the Lac La Biche Area: The Process of Education

VIII Summary and Recommendations

The remainder of the report will be organized as follows: Chapter II contains a description of the geography, climate and history of settlement of the interview areas. Chapter III consists of a description of the residents of these areas, including their ages, sex distribution, ethnic backgrounds, educational attainments, occupations, amount of geographical mobility that they have experienced, etc. Chapter IV deals with their sources of livelihood and economic situation, including farming activities, wage employment, value of holdings, indebtedness, total income, etc. Chapter V deals with the plans and aspirations of the interviewees, including their current plans and what they would want to do if certain financial assistance were available to them.

Chapter VI describes the home and family life of those interviewed, including size and equipment of the dwelling, family size and attitudes toward family planning, family harmony, and aspirations for children. The health situation of the families in the sample is described in Chapter VII, including information on sickness, death, and medical expenses. Chapter VIII contains material on subjects' perceptions of the communities in which they live, including poverty in the community, and their involvement in community activities. Chapter IX describes the extent of involvement of people outside

the communities in which they live, their sources of information and their political participation. Information on the attitudes and value commitments of people is reviewed in Chapter X, with special reference to their life goals and their commitment to a middle class orientation in pursuit of their goals. Chapter XI is a review of the subjects' satisfactions with their situations, their assessment of the problems of the area, and their conceptions of what the government could and/or should do to improve the lot of the people in the area. Chapter XII summarizes briefly the research procedures and the major findings of the study insofar as these relate to poverty.

FOOTNOTES

¹G. Y. Card, G. K. Hirabayashi, C. L. French et al, The Metis in Alberta Society. Edmonton: Multilithed by the University of Alberta, 1963.

²This aspect of the study is not yet completed.

³These institutions included: the Alberta Institute for Girls, Hilltop House (for women), Belmont Hostel (for men), Belmont Rehabilitation Center (for alcoholics), and the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol (for both men and women).



TOP : A portion of the Drumheller Valley at Wayne. Note the lack of vegetation and geological formations which comprise the valley wall.

BOTTOM: A farm in the La Crosse La Biche area.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE AND HISTORY OF THE AREAS STUDIED

In this chapter we shall summarize some basic information on the geography, climate and history of the areas studied. The importance of this information is that it provides one set of bases for evaluating the significance of the findings of this study for other areas of the province. Clearly all three, geography, climate and history, are related to the prosperity of the area. Geography and climate determine the agricultural productivity of the area, which in turn influences the number and size of service center towns and cities which become established. History, including the dates of first settlement, of road and railroad building, and of establishment of villages and towns, must be known if one is to evaluate prospective development. An area may be poor but just in the process of settlement, with bright prospects. It may be at the peak of developmental maturity, or in a state of mounting obsolescence having an ever higher proportion of facilities in need of replacement, and an aging, dwindling population lacking the vision and energy to make the changes which changing economic circumstances require.

We shall summarize briefly certain information on the geography, climate, and history of the study areas in turn.

Geography

In Figure 3 is found a map showing the soil zones of Alberta, together with the interview areas. The map shows that the farm interview areas of Dixonville, Blueberry Mountain, Niton and Innisfail span the middle third of the province and includes a cross section of the soil types in each area. Niton and Dixonville are predominantly grey wooded areas, while Blueberry Mountain has more dark grey and dark grey wooded areas, and the Innisfail interview area is in the black soil zone. More detailed information is found in Table I which includes information on the Drumheller area and the Metis, Lac La Biche and Indian, Saddle Lake Reserve areas in addition to the agricultural areas. For all three non-agricultural areas, these data are somewhat irrelevant since very few of the Drumheller respondents came from a farming background or had any interest in it, and few of the Indian or Metis are

CHAPTER II - TABLE I

INFORMATION ON GEOGRAPHY AND FORMS OF LAND USAGE IN THE STUDY AREAS

	<u>Dixonville</u>	<u>Blueberry</u>	<u>Lac La Biche</u>	<u>Saddle Lake</u>	<u>Niton</u>	<u>Innisfail</u>	<u>Drumheller</u>
Geography							
Altitude	1,937'-2,500'	2,072'-2,600'	1,735'		2,985'	3,000'	2,259'
Soil	Grey wooded	Grey wooded	Grey wooded; sand & clay loam		Grey wooded; lacks nitrogen, organic matter	12-14" black soil; rich in nitrogen & organic matter	Heavy black loam
Natural Vegetation	Mainly wood- land; heavy tree growth	Mainly wood- land; heavy tree growth	Woodland; heavy tree growth		Heavy deciduous and evergreen forests; bogs	Grass, few deciduous trees	Sparse, short grass & shrubby
% of Improved Farm- land in County or I.D.	47%	56%	40%	53%	42%	66%	79%
Land Usage	Substantial portion of unimproved land; mixed farming on small scale		Potential arable land; mixed farming		Mostly forested area; mixed farming on small scale; potential cattle country	Primarily mixed farming	Mining (coal) has declined; large wheat farms

currently exploiting the agricultural potential of their area. The data in the table do suggest that the potential in the Metis settlement areas of Lac La Biche is severely limited; in the case of the Saddle Lake Reserve it is much more promising.

The data show that the study areas include a cross section of the areas in Northern and Central Alberta in terms of the proportion of improved land in the reporting unit. The Innisfail area is, of course, the area with the highest proportion of improved land and the Niton and Lac La Biche areas have the lowest proportion of improved land.

Climate

Information on the climactic characteristics of the interview areas is presented in Table 2. The data suggest that the study areas include a cross section of climate features encountered in the northern and central parts of the province. Among the farming areas, annual precipitation is heaviest in the Innisfail and Niton areas and lightest in the Blueberry Mountain and Lac La Biche areas. The summer temperatures are highest in the Lac La Biche and Dixonville areas and lowest in the Niton and Blueberry Mountain areas, while the winter temperatures are highest in the Innisfail and Niton areas and lowest in the vicinity of Lac La Biche and Dixonville.

History

The most economically relevant aspects of the history of an area appear to be (1) the date of first settlement, (2) the approximate date of completion of settlement, (3) the ethnicity of immigrants, insofar as this may have affected their "progressiveness," and (4) the date of arrival of the railroad. This information is summarized for the study areas in Table 3. The data show consistently that according to the various indices available, the earliest established areas were Innisfail and Niton and most recently established were Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain. Only in the area of Innisfail is there reason to believe that farming has reached a stage of mature development on most of the farms. Blueberry Mountain and, to a slight extent, Dixonville, are still in the process of settlement, and data to be cited later in this report indicate that many of the farmers in the Niton area are "still pioneering"

CHAPTER II - TABLE 2

INFORMATION ON CLIMATE IN STUDY AREAS

<u>Weather</u>	<u>Dixonville</u>	<u>Blueberry</u>	<u>Lac La Biche</u>	<u>Saddle Lake</u>	<u>Niton</u>	<u>Innisfail</u>	<u>Drumheller</u>
Mean Yearly Temp.	34°F	34°F	34.2°F		36°F	36°F	38°F
Mean Summer Temp.	57°F	54°F	59.7°F		53°F	55°F	57°F
Mean Winter Temp.	17°F	20°F	5.5°F	NOT	23°F	23°F	18°F
Mean Annual Precip.	19.65"	16.13"	17.83"	AVAILABLE	20.85"	20.6"	15.0"
Mean Annual Rain	14.8"	9.8"	12.01"		14.98"	15.7"	12.37"
Mean Annual Snow	48.5"	63.3"	58.2"		Unavailable	50.0"	40.0"
Mean Frost Free Days	91	104	106		About 80-110	79	Unavailable

CHAPTER II - TABLE 3

HISTORICAL INFORMATION ON THE STUDY AREAS

<u>History</u>	<u>Dixonville</u>	<u>Blueberry</u>	<u>Lac La Biche</u>	<u>Saddle Lake</u>	<u>Niton</u>	<u>Innisfail</u>	<u>Drumheller</u>
1st Settlement	1915	1950	About 1870		1900	1882	1911 (First coal mine)
1st District Road	1938	1938	1936	1938	1932	1882	1924
1st District Highway	1953	1946	1946		1932	1924	1924
1st Railroad	1916 (EDBC Line)	Spirit River 1916	1923	1920 (To St. Paul)	1908	1891	1912
Settlement Completed	Still in process of settlement on fringes	Still in process of settlement	Still in process of settlement		Still in process of settlement on fringes	1915	

despite the fact that farmers first penetrated the area at an early date.

This brief overview of some of the geographical, meteorological and historical characteristics of the areas studied is perhaps enough to indicate the diversity of the areas, and to provide some basis for the comparison of our findings with those of other areas. In the next chapter we turn to the characteristics of the samples included in these areas.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS INTERVIEWED

This chapter contains a tabulation of the sample interviewed and a description of some of the characteristics of the people who composed the sample. The characteristics we shall consider include age, sex, marital status, ethnic background, parental family background, place of birth, educational attainment, current occupation, and total net family income for the year 1965.

Since the occupational and income attainments of people may be the result of the advantages or the handicaps which they derive from their backgrounds, as well as from later events in their lives, we shall examine the relationships which may exist between these background characteristics and annual income.

The Tabulation of the Sample

In Table 1 is found the distribution of individuals and family groups which were formally interviewed during the course of this study. Over 100 other people were interviewed informally, that is, not using a formal schedule, on various more specialized or technical subjects relating to the areas studied. The sample which was formally interviewed consisted of 919 individuals, including 252 Indians or Metis and 667 whites, who were members of 627 households of which 226 were Indian and 401 were white. Four hundred and fifty-five of the (individual) white interviews were held in farming areas and 212 were held in the rural non-farm area of I. D. 42 around Drumheller.

Throughout the remainder of this report we shall present data for the white and non-white portions of the sample separately. The reason for this is that far less information is available for the latter group because of problems of rapport, relatively limited vocabulary, and difficulty in obtaining opinions on abstract or hypothetical issues.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 1

INDIVIDUALS AND HOUSEHOLDS FORMALLY* INTERVIEWED, BY COMMUNITY

AREA	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
Blueberry Mountain	71	46
Dixonville	149	96
Niton	<u>123</u>	<u>70</u>
TOTAL POORER FARMING AREAS	343	212
Innisfail	<u>112</u>	<u>59</u>
TOTAL FARMING AREAS	455	271
Drumheller	<u>212</u>	<u>130</u>
TOTAL WHITE INTERVIEWS	<u>667</u>	<u>401</u>
Kikino	61	45
Lac La Biche	48	44
Old Mission	26	20
Owl River	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>
TOTAL METIS INTERVIEWS	<u>150</u>	<u>124</u>
Saddle Lake Reserve	96	96
Good Fish Lake Reserve	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL INDIAN INTERVIEWS	<u>102</u>	<u>102</u>
TOTAL INDIAN AND METIS INTERVIEWS	<u>252</u>	<u>226</u>
TOTAL INTERVIEWS	<u>919</u>	<u>627</u>

*Using an Interview Schedule

Characteristics of the White Sample

The white sample was almost equally divided by sex with 337 men and 330 women. The group ranged in age from fifteen to eighty years with a median age of forty-three. One-quarter (27.2 per cent) were under 35, one-half (52.9 per cent) were aged 35 to 55, and one-fifth (20.1 per cent) were 55 years of age and over. Note that interviewers sought to keep elderly subjects in the sample to a minimum since the study was not interested in poverty among retired subjects. Thus only 34 subjects, five per cent of the sample, were aged 65 and over. However, there are distinct differences in age between the areas, as Table 2 shows. The Innisfail sample is the oldest with 38.4 per cent over 55 years of age. The Drumheller sample is the youngest with 30.2 per cent under 35 years of age, and the poorer farming areas have the largest number of middle-aged subjects, including almost two-thirds of those samples.

Table 3 shows the land of birth of the sample members. Seventy-two per cent were Canadian born, 8 per cent were born in the Slavic countries, most frequently in the Ukraine, 6.5 per cent in the United States, 6.2 per cent in the British Isles, and 7.4 per cent in France, Germany and Scandinavia. Over two-thirds (70.0 per cent) of the native Canadians are native Albertans, 16.4 per cent are from Saskatchewan, and the remaining 13.6 per cent are from other parts of Canada. Sixty-two per cent of the Innisfail sample members were born in Alberta, as were 54.2 per cent of those in Drumheller, and 28.9 per cent of those in the other farming areas. Over half of the Albertans grew up on farms. The remainder were evenly divided between growing up in villages and towns (22.6 per cent) and growing up in large or small cities (22.4 per cent).

Of the 78 per cent who were born in North America, 57 per cent were offspring of foreign-born parents, 26 per cent were children of Canadian-born parents, and 17 per cent had Canadian-born grandparents.

There are interesting differences by areas between the birthplaces of respondents' grandfathers. In the Innisfail area 80.6 per cent of all subjects' grandfathers were born in Canada, the British Isles or the United States, whereas in the poorer farming areas (Dixonville, Blueberry Mountain and Niton) the figure is 47.2 per cent and in Drumheller it is 44.7 per

CHAPTER III - TABLE 2

AGES OF WHITE SUBJECTS INTERVIEWED, BY COMMUNITY

AREA	UNDER 35 YEARS		35 - 54 YEARS		55 AND OVER	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
Dixonville, Blueberry and Niton	97	28.2	182	53.4	62	18.2
Drumheller	64	30.2	121	57.0	27	12.7
Innisfail	20	17.9	49	43.7	43	38.4
TOTAL	181	27.2	352	52.9	132	19.8

CHAPTER III - TABLE 3

LAND OF BIRTH OF SUBJECTS, THEIR FATHERS & THEIR GRANDFATHERS,
BY COMMUNITY

	CANADA	BRITISH ISLES	UNITED STATES	SCANDINAVIA	
				FRANCE GERMANY	SLAVIC
PEACE RIVER					
Subject	73.1%	5.0%	5.9%	6.8%	9.1%
Father	32.7%	11.8%	13.7%	22.7%	19.0%
Maternal Grandfather	16.7%	20.2%	11.3%	28.6%	23.2%
Paternal Grandfather	13.4%	25.6%	7.6%	31.4%	22.1%
NITON					
Subject	62.3%	2.5%	9.8%	18.9%	6.1%
Father	24.6%	17.2%	17.2%	29.5%	11.5%
Maternal Grandfather	13.8%	21.1%	10.1%	40.3%	14.7%
Paternal Grandfather	9.7%	30.1%	8.8%	37.2%	14.2%
INNISFAIL					
Subject	73.6%	10.0%	10.0%	4.5%	1.8%
Father	28.4%	39.4%	18.3%	9.2%	4.6%
Maternal Grandfather	15.5%	50.5%	13.6%	16.5%	2.9%
Paternal Grandfather	17.1%	49.5%	15.2%	13.4%	4.8%
DRUMHELLER					
Subject	75.0%	7.5%	3.3%	2.7%	10.8%
Father	22.3%	20.9%	8.7%	19.9%	27.7%
Maternal Grandfather	9.7%	29.0%	7.5%	24.8%	27.4%
Paternal Grandfather	7.9%	28.4%	6.8%	26.6%	28.4%
TOTAL					
Subject	71.8%	6.2%	6.5%	7.4%	8.0%
Father	27.2%	20.4%	13.4%	20.8%	17.9%
Maternal Grandfather	13.6%	28.8%	10.2%	27.4%	19.3%
Paternal Grandfather	11.6%	31.7%	9.0%	27.6%	19.5%

*Percentages may not add up to 100% as Metis, Canadian Indians and Orientals have been eliminated.

cent. The figures for grandfathers born in Germany, Scandinavia and France are 12.0 per cent, 33.6 per cent and 27.5 per cent for these sample areas respectively, and the figures for grandfathers born in Slavic countries are 7.4 per cent, 19.2 per cent and 27.9 per cent. The predominance of Canadian-British-American origins of people in the Innisfail area is not explained by their early arrival in Canada. It is the poorer farm areas that have the highest proportion of third and fourth generation respondents, 45.1 per cent, followed by Innisfail with 32.7 per cent and Drumheller with 26.0 per cent. The poorer farming areas also have the highest proportion of first generation immigrants (24.7 per cent) almost twice the 12.7 per cent in Innisfail, but similar to the 22.0 per cent in Drumheller.

Subjects were asked, "Were you or your parents original homesteaders on this land?" Forty per cent of the subjects interviewed were themselves the original homesteaders, 19 per cent were farming land homesteaded by their parents, and 41 per cent were neither. The incidence of the latter varied widely by area. In Innisfail, 84 per cent of farmers worked land which neither their parents nor they themselves had homesteaded, while in Niton the figure was 46.7 per cent, in Dixonville 23 per cent, and in Blueberry Mountain it was 2.6 per cent. In Blueberry Mountain only one of the 38 farmers for whom we have information was not a homesteader. Original homesteaders made up 82 per cent of the sample in Blueberry Mountain, 54 per cent in Dixonville, 35 per cent in Niton, and none of the sample in Innisfail. The sample, as a whole, is a rather immobile group: thirty-nine per cent had either not moved at all (12.8 per cent) or only once (26.6 per cent) since fifteen years of age. Forty per cent had moved two or three times, and 20.0 per cent had moved four or more times.

Almost three-fourths (72.8 per cent) of subjects' fathers were farmers in Innisfail compared to 55.6 per cent of respondents' fathers in the poorer farm area, and 34.0 per cent in Drumheller. Peasant farmers, identified as those with less than four years of schooling, made up only a fifth of all farmers in the first case in contrast to almost a half in the second and third cases. Thirty-eight per cent of subjects' fathers in Drumheller were laborers, while in the farming areas respondents whose fathers were not farmers tended to come from a wide diversity of occupations.

Fathers of Innisfail respondents were better educated than were fathers of subjects in other interview areas: 30.5 per cent of the former had nine or more years of schooling in contrast to 24.8 per cent of fathers of Drumheller subjects and to 21.4 per cent of fathers of subjects in other farming areas. The two Peace River areas, Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain, have a high proportion of fathers with no education (14 per cent) in contrast to an incidence of less than five per cent for the other areas combined.

There are no remarkable differences in numbers of children in respondents' parental families between the different areas. Death of a brother or sister was more common among Drumheller respondents (47.6 per cent) than among Innisfail residents (39.3 per cent) or among residents in the other farming areas (38.0 per cent).

The educational differences between subjects are significant but not extreme. Almost two-thirds (64.6 per cent) of respondents in Innisfail have completed nine years of schooling in contrast to over half (52.9 per cent) of Drumheller respondents and less than half (48.0 per cent) of those in other farming areas. There are similar differences in exposure to specialized education or training after public school. Some 36.7 per cent of Innisfail subjects had received such training in contrast to 27.6 per cent of Drumheller subjects and 25.7 per cent of subjects in other farming areas.

As would be expected from the way in which the areas were selected, there are noteworthy differences in the occupations of subjects from different areas. Sixty-two per cent of the first jobs of Drumheller respondents were unskilled laboring positions, as were 59.0 per cent for the respondents in the poorer farm areas, but only 24.8 per cent for the Innisfail residents. At the time of the interview, unemployment or part-time employment of men was rather high in Drumheller, as was employment of women outside the home. Twenty per cent of Drumheller men were unemployed or employed part-time. Forty-two per cent of the women interviewed had wage employment in Drumheller, but only nine per cent of the women did in the other farming districts.

All but two of the men interviewed in the farming areas were engaged at least part-time, in farming when interviewed. The distribution of current or last occupations of the men and women interviewed in I. D. 42, and of the

employed women in the farm sample, is found in Tables 4 and 5. The largest single group of men, 33.0 per cent, was engaged in unskilled work, and the next largest, 29.0 per cent, was engaged in semi-skilled work. Twenty-two per cent were in skilled trades and 16.0 per cent were self-employed, or engaged in white-collar or professional work. Employed women in the Drumheller sample were most often employed in white-collar (45.2 per cent) and unskilled work (28.6 per cent) positions. The employment pattern of the employed women in the farm sample is somewhat similar, except that the average job skill level is a bit higher.

A detailed consideration of the amount and sources of livelihood of the samples interviewed is deferred to the next chapter, but a tabulation of total net 1965 family incomes for the farm and non-farm samples is found in Table 6. Of the farm sample, 16.3 per cent had a net loss of income during 1965, 10.5 made no more than \$1,000 and 25.3 per cent made between \$1,000 and \$2,000. At the other extreme, 27.8 per cent made more than \$3,000, and 14.6 per cent more than \$5,000. Reported incomes of the non-farm samples were somewhat higher, necessarily so since most of them were not raising much of their own food as were members of the farm sample. Fourteen per cent reported earnings no more than \$2,000, 15.0 per cent between \$2,000 and \$3,000 and 23.0 per cent between \$3,000 and \$4,000. Thirty-one per cent earned over \$5,000 and 9.5 per cent more than \$8,000.

For the purposes of analysis throughout the remainder of this report, each of these samples was divided into low, medium and high, or inadequate, adequate and comfortable income groups. Following a common practice, we set the line between low and medium income for the farm sample at \$2,000 and the line between the medium and high income at \$4,000. For the non-farm sample, the line between low and medium income was set at \$3,000 and the line between medium and high income groupings was set at \$5,000 annual income. The justification for the differences between the cutting points for the farm and the non-farm samples is that the housing of farmers is often less expensive--and more substandard, as we shall see--and farmers usually grow much of their food as well. Thus the farmer does have non-cash income supplements which appear to justify this difference in income

CHAPTER III - TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONS OF MEN INTERVIEWED IN DRUMHELLER

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>
Business and Professional	8	8.0
Clerical and Sales	8	8.0
Skilled Manual	22	22.0
Semi-Skilled Manual	29	29.0
Unskilled Manual	<u>33</u>	<u>33.0</u>
TOTAL	100	100.0

CHAPTER III - TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED FEMALE SAMPLE MEMBERS,
BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample	Drumheller	Total %	Total No. Replies
Business and Professional	50.0	100.0	12.5	19.4	19.75	9.5	17.7	20
Clerical and Sales	30.0	0.0	29.2	47.2	33.3	45.2	40.7	46
Skilled Manual	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.2	2.4	1.8	2
Semi-Skilled Manual	10.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	13.6	14.3	15.0	17
Unskilled Manual	10.0	0.0	41.7	13.9	19.8	28.6	24.8	28
Total Number of Female Sample Members Employed	10	1	24	36	81	42		113

CHAPTER III - TABLE 6

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME FOR 1965 - FOR WHITE FARM AND NON-FARM SAMPLES

	FARM SAMPLE		NON-FARM SAMPLE		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Net Loss	67	16.3	0	0.0	67	11.0
\$0 - \$1,000	43	10.5	6	3.0	49	8.0
\$1,001 - \$2,000	104	25.3	22	11.0	126	20.6
\$2,001 - \$3,000	83	20.2	30	15.0	113	18.3
\$3,001 - \$4,000	43	10.5	46	23.0	89	14.6
\$4,001 - \$5,000	11	2.7	32	16.0	43	7.0
\$5,001 - \$8,000	35	8.5	45	22.5	80	13.1
\$8,001 and over	25	6.1	19	9.5	44	7.2
TOTAL	411	100.00	200	100.00	611	100.00

supplements which appear to justify this difference in income cutting points.

Fifty-two per cent of the farm sample fell into the low income group, 30.7 per cent fell into the middle income group, and 17.3 per cent fell into the high income group. For the non-farm sample, 29 per cent fell into the low income group, 39 per cent fell into the middle income group, and 32 per cent fell into the high income group.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Background Characteristics

We shall now briefly note those differences in background characteristics which are associated with level of income. The pertinent information is summarized in Tables 7 and 8, which show the proportions of each of the three income groups for the farm and the non-farm samples which have the background characteristics indicated. These tables, and the ones like them which will be found throughout this report, are to be read as follows: the first line of Table 7 says that subjects under 35 years of age comprised 18 per cent of those in the high income group, 27 per cent of those in the middle income group, and 25.6 per cent of those in the low income group. The conclusion is thus obviously that a lower age is associated with a lower income, and vice versa. We shall first summarize the information in Table 7 and then the information in Table 8.

The data in Table 7 show that farm sample subjects who were in the high income group were more frequently older, from Innisfail, a first or second generation Canadian, had moved twice or more during their lives, had fathers who were not peasant farmers (i. e., a farmer with less than four years' education) but were professional or white-collar workers, had fathers with nine or more years' schooling, had come from smaller rather than larger families, had nine or more years of schooling themselves and whose first job was a skilled job. The finding that higher income farmers are older is in part a result of our sampling procedure. In both the non-farm and the farm samples, especially in Niton, it would have been possible to interview many old pensioners who had very low incomes and, had we done this, the findings would have been reversed. Since we interviewed only those fully active, the general tendency, particularly in frontier farming areas such as Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain, was for the younger subjects

CHAPTER III - TABLE 7

PROPORTIONS OF WHITE FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS SHARING SELECTED
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, BY INCOME GROUPS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
	%	%	%
Age under 35 years	25.6	27.0	18.0
Age 35 and over	25.6	19.8	31.1
Community: Dixonville	33.6	31.7	21.3
Blueberry	18.2	11.1	18.0
Niton	31.3	31.0	9.8
Innisfail	16.8	26.2	50.8
Respondent or his parents were homesteaders	61.2	59.4	50.0
Subject Canadian born	63.7	74.0	65.6
Subject is 3rd or 4th generation Canadian	34.5	43.1	23.0
Subject's paternal grandfather was British origin	53.8	60.0	57.6
Subject's paternal grandfather was North European origin	28.0	32.4	22.0
Subject's paternal grandfather was Slavic origin	18.3	7.6	20.3
Subject had moved only once or not at all	41.3	45.7	24.6
Subject's father was a peasant farmer	33.3	29.6	16.4
Subject's father was a self-employed white-collar worker or professional	11.4	11.2	19.7
Subject's father had 9 or more years of schooling	21.7	20.8	32.1
Subject's mother had 3 or less children	24.8	19.8	29.5
Subject's mother had 6 or more children	49.0	51.6	42.7
Subject had eight or less years of schooling	55.3	46.0	37.7
Subject's first job was skilled manual or white-collar	12.4	17.5	25.9
Farm value under \$20,000	49.6	32.1	15.6

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 8

PROPORTIONS OF WHITE NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS SHARING SELECTED
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, BY INCOME GROUPS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
%	%	%	%
Age under 35 years	14.0	32.9	34.4
Age over 54 years	28.1	12.7	0.0
Subject Canadian born	64.3	75.9	84.4
Subject is 3rd or 4th generation Canadian	20.0	22.4	36.1
Subject's paternal grandfather was British origin	42.2	34.3	57.4
Subject's paternal grandfather was North European origin	26.1	37.1	19.7
Subject's paternal grandfather was Slavic origin	31.1	28.6	23.0
Subject had moved only once or not at all	33.3	39.5	43.8
Subject's father was a peasant farmer	14.5	15.2	17.2
Subject's father was a farmer	25.4	32.9	45.3
Subject's father was self-employed, white-collar, or professional	14.5	6.3	9.4
Subject's father had 9 or more years of schooling	26.7	16.7	34.1
Subject had 8 or less years of schooling	57.1	63.2	36.5
Subject's mother had no more than 3 children	19.6	29.1	32.8
Subject's mother had 6 or more children	37.5	44.3	42.2
Subject's first job was professional, white-collar or skilled manual	21.4	12.2	24.2
Subject currently employed in self-employment, white-collar, or professional work	14.8	9.8	26.6
Subject currently employed as unskilled worker	33.3	41.5	20.0
Community: Drumheller	28.5	39.5	32.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

to be yet in the process of getting established and thus in lower income groups than the older subjects.

The most remarkable conclusion to be drawn from the data in Table 7 is the extent to which Alberta is an "open class society": the extent to which background factors have surprisingly little effect on the current incomes of sample members. Had background factors been important, the high income group would have been composed primarily of those who were third or fourth generation Canadians of British or Northern European ancestry, whose fathers were well-educated men, employed in skilled occupations, who were themselves well-educated. The data in the table show that third and fourth generation Canadians were less often in the high income group, that ethnic origin was not related to income, and that although education and occupational levels of the fathers and education level of the first job of the respondent were positively associated with a higher income, the relationships are all rather weak ones. It would appear from these data that background does somewhat affect the income levels of subjects interviewed, but only slightly. It is noteworthy that willingness to move, which suggests responsiveness to opportunities elsewhere, as reflected in the fact that subjects had moved twice or more since their fifteenth birthdays, is associated with higher income.

The data in Table 8 show that the subjects in I. D. 42 who were in the high income group were more often younger, Canadian born, third or fourth generation, of British origins, had moved not more than once, had fathers who had nine or more years of education, had nine or more years of education themselves, and who were employed in a higher level occupation. This pattern is different in certain ways from that of the farm sample seen in Table 7. A younger age was associated with a higher income and this was not because of the high proportion of pensioners in the sample because only two per cent were in this category. The data suggest that background is a somewhat more important determinant of income level for this sample. Subjects who were third or fourth generation Canadians, or at least Canadian born, of British origins, and who had had well-educated fathers, were more often in the higher income group than first or second generation Canadians of Northern European or Slavic origins. However, none of these relation-

ships is remarkably strong. It is noteworthy that immobility is associated with a higher income in this sample, whereas for the farm sample mobility is associated with a higher income.

In summary, our data show a slight tendency for background to be associated with income level for both the farm and the non-farm samples. The patterns are somewhat different: fathers' occupational level is rather more important with the non-farm sample. It is perhaps conformable with this pattern that mobility is associated with higher incomes for the farm sample, but immobility is associated with higher incomes for the non-farm sample.

The Indian Ancestry Samples

The distribution of formal interviews with non-white subjects by area is found in Table 1. A total of 252 interviews with members of 226 households were made in this aspect of the study. One hundred and two interviews were held with Treaty Indians, on the Saddle Lake Reserve, and 150 interviews were held with Metis peoples in four settlements in the vicinity of Lac La Biche.

A more adequate research staff in the Lac La Biche area made possible a more complete sampling of the population than was possible on the Indian reserves. In the Lac La Biche region, interviews were held in 83.2 per cent of the known Metis households in the areas covered.

In the Saddle Lake Reserve this was not possible. The population of the reserve consisted of about 180 families in 1965. The procedure adopted was to stratify the population on the basis of the relative dependence of families on social assistance funds and sample from three dependency groups. The co-operation of the Welfare Officer of the Saddle Lake Agency was obtained in making this classification of families. As a result of this procedure the sample which was interviewed consisted of 102 families, 30.6 per cent of which were in the high assistance category, receiving more than \$1,000 in 1965, 36.5 per cent in the medium assistance category, receiving from \$500 to \$1,000 in 1965, and 32.9 per cent of which were in the low assistance category, receiving less than \$500 of social assistance in 1965.

In most cases, interviews were held with the male heads of house-

holds; however, it would not be accurate to suggest that these were interviews with individuals. Rather, the information and/or opinion of the wife was often obtained by her husband in many interviews. Only with respect to the attitude items was a consistent attempt made to obtain a response from the person interviewed, rather than a consensus of the adults present.

In the remainder of this chapter and those which follow, in most cases the information from the Metis settlements around Lac La Biche and from the Indian reserves will be pooled. There is a certain amount of information which was collected for the one area but not for the other. There are a number of justifications for pooling the data from the Indian ancestry samples. As we shall see below, a number of the "Metis" who were interviewed in the Lac La Biche area grew up as children on one of the reserves of the Saddle Lake Agency. They were eventually displaced from the reserve when it was established that their fathers did not have Treaty Indian status. Most of the Metis sample have relatives at Saddle Lake and virtually all have friends there. Further, there are, of course, no racial differences between the two groups. The one is no more and no less "pure Indian" than the other since a high proportion of both groups have some Caucasian ancestry. Finally, there are no noteworthy cultural differences between them. There is little of fluent Cree language retention by the younger generation in either group, and other aspects of the ancestral culture are dying out with equal rapidity in both groups. In neither group is there any noteworthy difference in desire to retain the heritage of the past, or in ambivalence toward contemporary white urban culture. Thus, whether or not one is "treaty" is a legal distinction which has consequences in terms of privileges which one may claim, but which is not associated with differences in area of origin, in racial origins or in culture.

Because most of the items of information recorded in the interview schedules reflect household experience and opinion rather than that of individuals, we do not have an extensive list of characteristics of those interviewed because such a list would be misleading. A number of things can be said, however, about the characteristics of the Indian ancestry families interviewed during the course of this study.

We do not have detailed information on the birthplaces of the Saddle Lake sample members but we do for most members of the Lac La Biche sample. The data show that about one-fifth of the men and women of the latter group were born on the reserves of the Saddle Lake Agency. About 55 per cent were born in one of the Lac La Biche settlements, and the remainder were born elsewhere. Half of the subjects interviewed in the Lac La Biche area had never lived on a Metis colony, 17 per cent had lived on a colony all their lives, and 21 per cent had moved to the colony after living elsewhere for a while.

The level of educational attainment is also available only for the Lac La Biche sample. Almost half, 45.6 per cent, of the adult men in the families interviewed had no formal education at all, 35 per cent had from one to six years, and 19 per cent had over six years of schooling. The women in these families had slightly more education: 32 per cent had no schooling, 44 per cent had from one to six years' schooling, and 24 per cent had more than six years. It should be emphasized that six years of schooling does not mean completion of grade six. Because of language difficulties, interruptions, the housekeeping chores to be done around residential schools, etc., considerable grade retardation was very common, and many who had six years in school had only mastered grade three level material. Thus the educational attainment tends to be exaggerated by the reported years of schooling.

Information on the occupational status of the male head of the family is found in Table 9. Almost half, 45 per cent, were classed as laborers, 16 per cent were classed as cattle raisers, a somewhat deceptive label since most of these were on the Kikino Colony, and the sizes of the herds these men were raising were very small. Seventeen per cent were disabled or pensioners, eight per cent were trappers or fishermen, and thirteen per cent were engaged in other occupations. Only eight men, 3.8 per cent of the total, had steady wage work off the colony or the reservation on which they lived.

In the following chapter we shall consider in detail the sources of livelihood of the Indian ancestry sample members, but here we present information on the total family income of the families interviewed. The information is available only for the Saddle Lake Reserve sample. Twenty-four per cent

CHAPTER III - TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONS OF INDIAN ANCESTRY MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	NUMBER	%
Physically disabled	10	4.78
Pensioner	25	11.96
Cattle Raising	33	15.78
Fishing	9	4.30
Trapper	8	3.82
Laborer	94	44.97
Other	19	9.09
Steady outside area of residence	8	3.82
Carpenter	3	1.43
TOTAL	209	100.00

received less than \$1,400 from all sources in 1965, 28 per cent received between \$1,400 and \$2, 450, 29 per cent received between \$2,450 and \$3,700, and four per cent earned over \$3,700.

In summary, it is clear that the Indian ancestry sample definitely has low educational attainments, low occupational skills and low level incomes.



TOP : Timber is a major source of livelihood for many people in the Lac
La Biche area.

BOTTOM: Many families in the Dixonville area must farm with outdated
equipment which cuts down their efficiency and productivity.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD

In this chapter we shall describe the sources of livelihood of the subjects interviewed. As in the previous chapter, we shall treat the materials for white and non-white sample subjects separately. Furthermore, for whites we shall deal with the farmers and the non-farmers separately, since the relevant information for the two is quite dissimilar. For farmers we shall present data on type, size, value, indebtedness of the farm, total family income, and non-farm sources of income, including wage employment and governmental assistance. For the non-farm respondents of I. D. 42, we shall present information on occupation, transfer or welfare payments, total family income, and debt and financial difficulties.

Sources of Livelihood of the Farm Sample

In this section we shall describe first the farm sources of livelihood of the farm sample members; second, the off-farm wage supplements to their income; and, third, the governmental assistance supplements to their livelihood.

Farm Sources

In Table 1 is found a summary of information relevant to the farm sources of livelihood, by farm areas, which gives an overview of some of the more striking contrasts among the various areas. All of the interview areas were predominantly mixed farming areas, with the exception of the Blueberry Mountain area where three-fourths of the farms were termed grain farms by their owners. Fifteen per cent of all farmers operated no more than 240 acres, 46 per cent operated 240 to 480 acres, 30 per cent operated 480 to 1,000 acres, and nine per cent operated more than 1,000 acres. The Table shows that the largest farms are in the Dixonville area and the smallest in the Niton area. The number of acres actually owned is less, on the average, than the number farmed. Twenty per cent owned 240 acres or less, 51 per cent owned 240 to 480 acres, 23 per cent owned 480 to 1,000 acres and six per cent owned more than 1,000 acres. All but

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON FARM SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD,
BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample %	Sample No.
Predominant type of farm	Mixed	Grain	Mixed	Mixed		
Farmed 480 acres or less	46.7%	56.8%	71.7%	56.4%	58.2	138
Owned 480 acres or less	54.6	64.7	83.3	76.4	69.7	165
Farms with more than 60% of land cultivated	30.1	41.7	11.7	77.8	38.5	86
Farms with more than 40% uncleared land	32.8	41.6	62.8	3.9	35.3	78
Farms with more than 10% wasteland	31.4	33.3	27.2	13.2	26.2	58
Main crops raised	Barley	Wheat	Hay	Barley		446
	Wheat	Flax	Oats	Oats		
	Rapeseed					
Average yield (in wheat) 21+ bushels	38.7%	36.3%	84.6%	100.0%	65.0	117
Over 50 head cattle	42.4	2.7	16.8	42.7	27.8	65
Up to \$5,000 of machinery	45.8	43.2	72.8	26.0	48.1	111
Farm value under \$25,000	53.5	39.0	71.2	9.3	45.7	106
No debt	27.4	25.6	13.6	36.4	25.7	58
Over \$2,000 debt	38.4	41.0	45.8	50.9	43.8	99
Interest rate over 6% for those with debts	14.9	42.9	23.4	9.4	21.4	33
Will pay off debt in 4 or more years	37.3	50.0	36.7	60.0	44.1	71
Difficulty paying debts now	5.7	28.6	9.5	9.1	9.9	12
Difficulty paying debts within last 2 years	37.8	100.0	85.7	15.2	47.1	57
Worry 'much' & 'great deal' about debts	31.5	25.0	51.0	2.6	29.7	51
Never received PFA or any other government assistance	2.7	8.3	28.1	58.2	23.9	53
Has received government assistance other than PFA	31.1	58.4	40.4	10.9	32.9	73
Net family income less than \$2,000	55.8	64.1	59.3	33.3	52.4	122
Net Family income more than \$4,000	9.6	15.4	5.1	30.8	14.3	32

one of the farms over 1,000 acres were found in the Dixonville area where such farms include fifteen per cent of the total. In Niton, 83 per cent of the farms were no more than 480 acres.

There were wide ranges in the proportion of land actually cultivated, ranging from five per cent of the farms where less than eleven per cent of land was cultivated, to sixteen per cent where 86 per cent or more of the land was cultivated. The median figure on per cent of land cultivated was 53 per cent. The area with the highest proportion of cultivation was the Innisfail area, where on almost half of the farms (46.3 per cent), 86 per cent or more of the land was under cultivation. The two lowest areas were the Niton area, where less than 31 per cent of the land was cultivated on two-fifths of the farms, and the Blueberry Mountain area, where one-fourth of the farmers cultivated no more than 31 per cent of their land. However, the larger proportion of the Blueberry Mountain farms were more extensively cultivated, second only to the Innisfail area, with over sixty per cent of the land cultivated on 42 per cent of the farms. Uncleared land was most frequent in the Niton and the Blueberry Mountain areas, where 51 per cent of the farmers in the former area, and 31 per cent in the latter area, reported that half or more of their land was uncleared. At least ten per cent wasteland was reported by about thirty per cent of the farmers in all areas but Innisfail, where only thirteen per cent reported this much wasteland.

The most frequently reported main crops were barley, mentioned by one-third of all farmers, primarily those in the Innisfail and Dixonville areas; wheat, mentioned by 23 per cent, primarily in the Blueberry Mountain and Dixonville areas; hay, mentioned by twenty per cent, almost all of them Niton farmers; oats, eight per cent, again primarily in the Niton area; and rapeseed, seven per cent, primarily in the Dixonville area.

An attempt was made to devise a standard measure of the productivity of the land. This was done by asking farmers what their average yield per acre of wheat, barley, oats or rapeseed was and converting the figures to a standard bushels-of-wheat per acre index figure. The lowest figure, reported by eight farmers, all of whom lived in Dixonville (4), Niton (2) or Blueberry Mountain (2) was under five bushels; the highest figure, reported

by two Innisfail farmers, was over fifty bushels per acre. The Table shows that more than twenty bushels per acre was reported by 39 per cent of the Dixonville farmers, 36 per cent of the Blueberry Mountain farmers, and 85 per cent of the Niton farmers, and by all of the Innisfail farmers. Eighty per cent of the latter reported over thirty bushels per acre.

Almost three-fourths of the farmers (72.5 per cent) raise cattle. This is most frequent in the Niton area (87 per cent) and least frequent in the Blueberry Mountain area (27 per cent). Only twenty per cent have more than 75 head, while 28 per cent have no more than 25 head. The largest herds are found in the Innisfail area where forty per cent of those with cattle have more than 75 head. The smallest herds are found in Niton where almost half (46 per cent) have no more than 25 head.

There are wide ranges in the investment in farm machinery. Nine farmers, including at least one in every area, reported owning no machinery, while three farmers, two in Dixonville and one in Innisfail, reported over \$80,000 worth of machinery. The median figure reported by farmers as the value of their machinery was \$5,500. The heaviest investments were in Innisfail where 56 per cent of farmers reported more than \$10,000, Blueberry Mountain where 35 per cent reported this figure, and Dixonville where 30 per cent reported this figure. Only ten per cent of Niton farmers reported owning more than \$10,000 worth of machinery. Machinery valued at less than \$2,000 was reported by 46 per cent of farmers in Niton, 22 per cent in Blueberry Mountain, 18 per cent in Innisfail and 13 per cent in Dixonville.

Farmers were asked the cash value of their farm--"How much would you sell it all for, including all capital investment in machinery, livestock, buildings, etc.?" The range was from under \$1,500, reported by two farmers, to more than \$200,000 mentioned by four farmers. The median figure for all the farms was \$30,000. Over half, 52.9 per cent, of the farms where subjects were interviewed in the Innisfail area were valued at more than \$75,000, while in the Dixonville area this proportion was twelve per cent, and in Niton and Blueberry Mountain it was three per cent. Farms were valued at less than \$25,000 by 71 per cent of the Niton farmers, 54 per cent of those in Dixonville, 39 per cent in Blueberry Mountain, and by nine per

cent in the Innisfail area.

One-quarter of the farmers interviewed were debt free, the highest proportion (36.4 per cent) being in Innisfail, and the lowest proportion (13.6 per cent) being in Niton, as Table 1 shows. However, the average size of the debt per indebted farm ranked in the opposite order, with a debt of over \$5,000 being carried by 46.2 per cent of the (indebted) farms in Innisfail, 20 per cent of those in Dixonville, 23.5 per cent in Blueberry, and only 16.8 per cent in Niton. The interest rates paid on loan money ranged from five per cent or less, reported by 36 per cent of those with debts, to over 15 per cent per year, reported by six per cent, with most farmers (42.2 per cent) reporting between 5-1/2 and six per cent interest. The table shows that rates over six per cent were most often paid by Blueberry (42.9 per cent) and Niton (23.4 per cent) farmers, and least often by Innisfail farmers (9.4 per cent). The largest proportion (38.4 per cent) hoped to pay their debts off this year, but almost half (44.1 per cent) expect to take four or more years. This long-term indebtedness was greatest in Innisfail and lightest in Niton, as the Table shows.

Over a third (36.1 per cent) of farmers reported that they had never had any difficulty paying off their debts, but these were all in Dixonville and Innisfail where 60 and 36 per cent, respectively, of the indebted farmers had had this experience. Ten per cent reported that they were currently having difficulties, and almost one-half (47.1 per cent) reported having difficulties within the last two years. The Table shows that 100 per cent of the Blueberry farmers, 86 per cent of those in Niton, 38 per cent of those in Dixonville, and 15 per cent of those in Innisfail had such difficulties.

The consequence of such difficulties is, of course, worry over making payments, and 55 per cent of the farmers in debt reported worrying "some," "much" or "a great deal" about their debts. Thirty per cent reported worrying considerably. The Table shows that those in Niton reported worrying most (51 per cent), followed by Dixonville (32.0 per cent) and Blueberry Mountain (25.0 per cent).

Sources of Income of the Farm Sample

In Table 2 is found a breakdown of the sources of income reported by members of the sample, by interview areas. We restrict our consideration at this time to the farm sample. The data show that sale of farm goods was mentioned by 82.7 per cent of the farm sample; wages, salaries and commissions were mentioned by 44.2 per cent; interest from stocks and bonds by 9.1 per cent; pensions, 6.1 per cent; rents, 3.5 per cent; self-employment, 3.0 per cent; PFA, unemployment insurance and welfare, 1.7 per cent; and other sources, 5.2 per cent. It is to be noted that almost one-fifth (17.3 per cent) of these farmers reported no income from the sale of farm goods. Reasons for this included crop failure, the fact that a farm was newly homesteaded and not yet producing crops, and (in a few cases) use of the farm for residential purposes only. The highest proportion of subjects reporting no farm income is from the Blueberry area (33.3 per cent) and the lowest is from the Innisfail area, as Table 2 shows. Almost one-third of all Innisfail respondents reported receiving interest from stocks and bonds, and the highest proportion reporting receiving rents and pensions was also from this area. There is reason to suspect that there was under-reporting of reciprocity of PFA, welfare, etc., but, of cases reported, the incidence was highest in the two Peace River areas.

In the next two sections we shall first discuss off-farm employment and then transfer payments.

Off-Farm Sources of Income

The information relevant to off-farm sources of income is summarized in Table 3. Thirty-one per cent of the farm subjects, including forty per cent of the men and eighteen per cent of the women, were employed off the farm in 1965 or by July of 1966. The largest proportion of men are employed in Blueberry Mountain (62.5 per cent) and Niton (48.3 per cent), while the lowest proportion is employed in Innisfail (19.0 per cent). Clearly, off-farm employment of men is highest in the poorest areas. There are no differences between employment of women by area, however: about 18 per cent were employed in each area.

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 2

SOURCES OF INCOME, BY COMMUNITY

	Wages		Salary		Sale of Farm Goods		Self-employed Business		Rents		Welfare Unemp. Ins. PFA, etc.		Pension		Interest from Stocks Bonds Dividends Annuities etc.		Other Sources		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Dixonville	30	38.5	66	84.6	2	2.6	1	1.3	2	2.6	4	5.1	2	2.6	4	5.1	111	100		
Niton	30	51.7	48	82.8	5	8.6	0	0.0	1	1.7	4	6.9	1	1.7	8	13.8	76	100		
Innisfail	15	26.8	51	91.1	0	0.0	7	12.5	0	0.0	5	8.9	17	30.4	0	0.0	96	100		
Blueberry	27	69.2	26	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.6	1	2.6	1	2.6	0	0.0	56	100		
Total Farm	102	44.2	191	82.7	7	3.0	8	3.5	4	1.7	14	6.1	21	9.1	12	5.2	339	100		
Drumheller	119	83.8	4	2.8	18	12.7	2	1.4	13	9.2	13	9.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	172	100		
Total	221	59.2	195	52.3	25	6.7	10	2.7	17	4.6	27	7.2	21	5.6	12	3.2	511	100		

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT,
BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Sample %	Sample No.
Respondents earning off-farm income in 1965 or 1966	31.5%	44.2%	35.9%	19.0%	30.8	127
Male respondents who have worked off farm in 1965 or 1966	40.2	62.5	48.3	19.0	39.6	91
Female respondents who have worked off farm in 1965 or 1966	19.4	18.8	19.0	18.5	16.7	36
Male respondents engaged in off-farm unskilled work	78.4	66.7	78.1	47.8	70.6	108
Male respondents travelling 70 miles or more to work	21.0	58.1	30.8	0.0	29.1	39
Male respondents who worked more than 150 days per year	43.1	48.5	43.2	39.1	43.7	66
Male respondents who worked more than 250 days per year	9.8	30.3	15.8	39.8	19.7	30
Male respondents who earned \$2,000 or more off farm in 1965	26.0	20.0	36.4	43.5	32.7	48
Male respondents who earned \$1,000 - \$2,000 off farm in 1965	26.0	40.0	22.7	8.7	25.2	37
Male respondents not working off farm who want work	11.7	18.4	8.2	6.6	10.1	30

Only 4.2 per cent of those employed work for other farmers and 4.6 per cent, almost all from the Niton area, are self-employed.

Almost three-fourths of those working (70.6 per cent) were engaged in unskilled work. The highest proportion so engaged (78 per cent) were in the two Peace River areas while the lowest proportion (48 per cent) were from Innisfail.

Most of those who worked did so for a considerable portion of the year: 44 per cent reported working more than 150 days per year, and 20 per cent reported working for 250 or more days of the year. The proportions reporting the latter were highest in Innisfail (34.8 per cent) and Blueberry Mountain (30.3 per cent), and lowest in Niton (15.8 per cent) and Dixonville (9.8 per cent). The data show that most of these Innisfail workers are employed at permanent skilled jobs. Most of the Blueberry workers, however, are employed in "bush work" of one kind or another. This is rather clearly seen in the distances which subjects have to travel to their off-farm employment. Two-thirds of the Innisfail workers travel less than ten miles to their work and the remainder travel less than forty miles. Twenty-nine per cent of all off-farm workers report travelling more than seventy miles to work. The proportion who travel such distances is greatest in Blueberry (58.1 per cent) and Niton (30.8 per cent). Most of the remaining Niton workers, like the Innisfail workers, are employed close to home.

Farmers who reported working off their farms during the last year were asked, "Did you live on the farm while working?" About one-fifth (19.9 per cent) of the farmers interviewed reported that they lived away from the farm during periods of off-farm employment. The proportion who did was highest in Blueberry Mountain, where 41 per cent reported working a median distance of 130 miles away from home. In Niton, 25.8 per cent reported living off the farm while working a median distance of 250 miles from home and in Dixonville, 19.5 per cent lived off the farm while working a median distance of 160 miles from home. None of the Innisfail farmers reported living off the farm while engaged in off-farm employment.

Off-farm workers do not generally make substantial annual earnings at their work. Almost half, 42.3 per cent, earn less than \$1,000 a year,

36.1 per cent earn between \$1,000 and \$3,000 and only 10.2 per cent earn more than \$4,000. It is clear from the previous paragraph that Blueberry Mountain residents work under the most difficult conditions. Most are engaged in unskilled work, many work for most of the year, and they travel farthest to their work. The information in Table 3 shows that they are perhaps the least well paid for their work in that they have the smallest proportion whose annual earnings are over \$2,000 (20 per cent). By contrast, 43.5 per cent of Innisfail workers and 36.4 per cent of Niton workers earned this amount.

Subjects who were not working were asked, "Did you want off-farm work?" Only ten per cent of those not working said that they did, but these included 18.4 per cent of the Blueberry residents, as Table 3 shows.

The information we have presented shows that families in all three of the poorer farm areas depend heavily on off-farm employment of the male head, and also that this dependence is heaviest in Blueberry Mountain, the most recently settled area, where many are still in the process of becoming established. It is clear that off-farm work in all three poorer areas takes a heavy toll in terms of the time devoted to it and in terms of distances travelled to work. Again, this toll is heaviest for the Blueberry Mountain residents. The amounts earned from this work are not very large, especially in the case of Blueberry Mountain again. Most farmers in most of the areas who seek off-farm work do manage to find it, but in Blueberry Mountain a sizable minority are unable to.

In conclusion, we should emphasize that our figures can tell us about the incidence of off-farm employment, and of fathers living away from home while at work. But they cannot tell us of the added burden the women must shoulder in the absence of their men, the parenting that children do not receive because fathers are away and mothers overworked, the build-up of tensions between husbands and wives because both are overworked and do not have time to communicate adequately with each other.

Transfer Payments

Farmers were asked, "Have you ever had to get government assistance--PFA, unemployment insurance, welfare, etc.--during hard times?"

Their answers to this question are found in Table 4. The data show that 24 per cent had never needed any form of assistance, and that another 43 per cent had received only PFA payments, to which they had themselves contributed in the first place. Twenty per cent had received unemployment insurance, some in combination with other payments, and 13.1 per cent indicated that they had at some time received social assistance payments. Somewhat over half (58.2 per cent) of the Innisfail subjects and 28 per cent of Niton subjects indicated that they had not needed any help, while only 8.3 per cent of Blueberry Mountain residents and only two Dixonville residents made this response. The Table shows that most of the Dixonville farmers who had received assistance received PFA, and the same was true of Innisfail farmers. Almost one-third of Blueberry Mountain and Niton farmers had received unemployment insurance. Social assistance payments had been received most heavily by the Peace River area farmers, including 28 per cent of the Blueberry Mountain and 14 per cent of the Dixonville respondents. All but one of the former had received social assistance within the last year whereas two-thirds of the Dixonville recipients last received assistance more than ten years ago, as did all of the Innisfail residents. Four out of five of the Niton recipients had received assistance during the course of the last year.

In response to the question, "How long did you get welfare (the last time)?" all of the Niton residents and half of the Dixonville residents responded that it had been for less than three months, and the remaining two-thirds reported between three months and a year. When the Innisfail residents last received welfare, over ten years ago, it was for periods of between three and twelve months.

Summary

It is clear that many of the farmers in the areas studied do depend or have depended heavily on various forms of aid; only one-fourth of the sample had never received any. Our data further shows that the different forms of aid meet the distinctive needs of different communities. The better established areas make heavy use of PFA payments. The less well-established areas, where high proportions of men have off-farm employment, depend frequently

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 4

TYPES OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE EVER RECEIVED BY FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS,
BY COMMUNITY

	Never Any	PFA Only	Unemployment Insurance & PFA, or others	Social Assistance	Total No.	Total %
Dixonville	2.7%	66.2%	17.6%	13.5%	74	100
Blueberry	8.3	33.3	30.6	27.8	36	100
Niton	28.1	31.6	31.6	8.8	57	100
Innisfail	58.2	30.9	3.6	7.3	55	100
Total No.	53	96	44	29	222	100
Total %	23.9	43.2	19.8	13.1		100

on unemployment insurance payments. The most recently homesteaded areas appear to depend on social assistance payments. This is substantiated not only by our questionnaire data, but also by the experience of interviewers. They reported that whereas in Dixonville there was considerable disdain expressed toward welfare recipients, there was very little of this feeling in Blueberry Mountain where a large minority had received social assistance during the last year.

Net Family Income for 1965

Subjects were asked, "Including all regular sources, about how much would you say your total (cash) income came to in 1965, after deducting your operating expenses?" Table 5 shows the distribution of total net family incomes for 1965, by farm interview area. One is impressed that in view of their capital investments, their labor, and their risk, most of the reported incomes are very low, even in the Innisfail area where the land is rich and the capital investments in buildings and machinery, as well as in land, is very heavy. One out of every six respondents reported a net loss for the year, and 55 per cent reported a net income of less than \$2,000. At the other extreme, 14.6 per cent made more than \$5,000 and only six per cent made more than \$8,000. If we define the "poverty line" as \$2,000 of net family income per year, following a common practice, then it is clear from the Table that a sizable portion of the sample, 52.4 per cent in fact, are "in poverty." This includes a large number in each of the areas: 64 per cent in Blueberry Mountain, 59 per cent in Niton, 56 per cent in Dixonville, and no less than 33 per cent in Innisfail.

Relationships between Annual Income and Sources of Livelihood for Farm Sample

In Table 6 is found the proportion of each of the three income groups, high, middle and low, which have selected characteristics relating to sources of livelihood. Most of the relationships between characteristics of the farm and the income groups are so obvious as to deserve little comment. It is clear from the Table that farmers in the higher income group live on larger and more valuable farms, having a high proportion of cleared and cultivated land and little wasteland, and that the land is rich as seen from the kinds of

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 5

NET FAMILY INCOME FOR 1965, BY COMMUNITY

	Net Loss No.	%	\$0 - No.	\$1,000 %	\$1,001 - \$2,000 No.	%	\$2,001 - \$3,000 No.	%	\$3,001 - \$4,000 No.	%	\$4,001 - \$5,000 No.	%	\$5,001 - \$8,000 No.	%	Over \$8,000 No.	%	Total No.	%
Dixonville	23	17.7	18	13.8	31	23.8	28	21.5	12	9.2	2	1.5	6	4.6	10	7.7	130	100
Blueberry	18	28.1	10	15.6	11	17.2	12	18.8	2	3.1	3	4.7	6	9.4	2	3.1	64	100
Niton	20	17.9	13	11.6	34	30.4	28	25.0	11	9.8	0	0.0	4	3.6	2	1.8	112	100
Innisfail	6	5.7	2	1.9	28	26.7	15	14.3	18	17.1	6	5.7	19	18.1	11	10.5	105	100
Total Farm	67	16.3	43	10.5	104	25.3	83	20.2	43	10.5	11	2.7	35	8.5	25	6.1	411	100
Drumheller	0	0.0	6	3.0	22	11.0	30	15.0	46	23.0	32	16.0	45	22.5	19	9.5	200	100
Total Sample	67	11.0	49	8.0	126	20.6	113	18.5	89	14.6	43	7.0	80	13.1	44	7.2	611	100

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 6

PROPORTIONS OF SUBJECTS IN THREE INCOME GROUPS HAVING SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS RELATING TO SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
	%	%	%
<u>CHARACTERISTICS RELATING TO FARM EMPLOYMENT</u>			
Farm less than 480 acres	70.0	57.1	38.7
Owned less than 240 acres	24.2	25.4	8.6
Less than 60% land cultivated	66.1	62.3	40.0
More than 40% land uncleared	41.9	33.3	17.2
More than 10% wasteland	24.8	31.9	17.2
Main Crop reported as hay	23.3	18.8	8.6
Main Crop reported as barley	25.8	39.1	48.6
Average wheat yield 20 bushels or less per acre	40.2	29.3	27.6
Average wheat yield 30 bushels or more per acre	23.0	34.5	48.3
More than 50 head of cattle	15.8	35.2	45.7
Less than \$10,000 of machinery	19.8	33.3	64.5
Farm value less than \$25,000	59.7	39.4	20.0
Has no debt	24.2	26.1	37.5
Has over \$5,000 debt	25.8	33.3	40.6
Pays over 6% interest	22.4	22.2	21.1
Will pay off debts this year	37.2	28.6	10.0
Had difficulty paying debts within last 2 years	50.0	51.4	31.6
Farm men worry about debts much or a great deal	27.7	33.3	33.3
Never received any government assistance, including PFA	20.7	27.5	28.1
Never on welfare	94.0	93.7	91.8
<u>CHARACTERISTICS RELATING TO OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT</u>			
Farmers with off-farm employment during last 2 years	40.2	47.8	25.0
Farmers' wives with off-farm employment during last 2 years	10.1	24.6	20.7
Among subjects employed off farm, those who work in white-collar occupations	16.9	20.0	33.3
Among subjects employed off farm, those who travel more than 100 miles to work	18.5	43.3	57.1
Among subjects employed off farm, those who worked less than 90 days	65.5	61.8	33.3
Among subjects employed off farm, those who worked more than 180 days	10.3	20.6	44.4
Among subjects employed off farm, those who earned less than \$1,000 for off-farm employment	49.1	17.6	12.5
Subjects who want off-farm employment	11.5	8.1	6.7

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

crops sold and the yields reported. They more frequently have large herds of cattle and a heavy investment in machinery. They are more often debt free, but they are also more frequently heavily indebted, for longer periods of time. They have less frequently received any form of government assistance. These relationships derive in large part from the fact that many of the farmers in the high income group were in Innisfail. It should be remembered, however, that one-half were from the three poorer farming areas so that the characteristics noted are characteristics of high income farmers in all of the areas studied, rather than just of Innisfail farmers.

Turning to the characteristics relating to off-farm employment, it is quite clear that, although high income farmers less often had off-farm work than low income farmers, subjects who worked longer and harder in off-farm employment fall most frequently in the high income group. This is true of the duration of time that subjects work and the distances they travel. Men employed in higher level positions are more often in the higher income group as well. Women in the higher income group more often worked off the farm than did women in the low income group. Our data show a slight tendency for those in the low income group to report they wanted, but could not obtain, off-farm work more often than those in the higher income group.

In summary, the data show, of course, that those with larger, more expensive, and more completely cleared and cultivated farms, and those who have longer duration and higher skilled off-farm employment are more frequently in the high income groups. However, perhaps the thing to be emphasized is the sizable proportion of subjects who were on large, expensive, cleared and cultivated farms, and who were employed for most of the year and who yet fell in the lowest income group.

Sources of Livelihood of the Non-Farm Sample

In this section we will summarize the information on the sources of livelihood of the non-farm sample members living in I. D. 42. We shall first discuss earned income and then transfer payments. Under earned income we shall also include information on the employment condition, job security, and job satisfaction of the sample members. We shall also present information on subjects' indebtedness. A summary of the main points of statistical in-

formation presented in this section of the chapter is found in Table 7.

Earners Income

In Table 8 is found the occupational distribution of the male breadwinners in the 130 households interviewed in I. D. 42, and for Drumheller City and I. D. 42, taken from 1961 census figures. Only one-fifth of the men were employed in white-collar occupations, and more than two-thirds of these were employed in clerical, sales, and technician positions, the lowest skill and income category of white-collar occupations. Eleven per cent were employed in skilled crafts, and 17.3 per cent were employed as semi-skilled operatives. More men were employed in unskilled laboring positions, 22.3 per cent, than in any other single type of work. This distribution contrasts rather sharply with the distribution for the City of Drumheller, as the data in the table show.

Nevertheless, there is apparently a high level of work satisfaction: when asked, "Would you say you get more satisfaction from your work or from the things you do when you are not working?" 52 per cent said more from their work, 20 per cent said they got equal satisfaction from both, and 28 per cent said more from doing other things. During the period when the interviewing was being carried out, the month of June and the first two weeks of July, a heavy employment season of the year, there was a surprisingly large number of men unemployed or under-employed. Of the total of 103 men interviewed, sixteen were unemployed and five were employed only part-time when contacted, a combined rate of 20 per cent. Only seven men were working at two different jobs. Two-thirds of the men work for private employers, one-fifth for government, and the remainder, 13 per cent, are self-employed. One-half work in Drumheller, a third within ten miles from home, and a sixth work more than ten miles from home.

Twelve of the 101 men for whom data are available lived away from home; five did not object to this arrangement but seven did.

Thirty-five per cent had been employed at their current jobs for less than two years, 23 per cent for less than one year. At the other extreme, thirty per cent had been so employed for more than ten years, half of them for more than fifteen years, and another 17 per cent for more than six years.

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD DATA FOR NON-FARM SAMPLE

Total non-farm sample size	212
Receive wages, salaries or commissions	84.0%
Employed in white-collar positions	20.0%
Employed in unskilled positions	22.3%
More satisfaction from work than recreation	52.0%
Employed part-time or unemployed	20.0%
Worked at current job less than two years	35.0%
Worked 40 hours per week or more	65.0%
Earned no more than \$2.00 per hour	51.0%
Think wage paid to working man <u>is</u> fair	54.0%
Have ever worked night shift	97.1%
Like night shift work	52.0%
Thought they might lose their jobs within two years	48.0%
Women employed full time	22.9%
Earn \$1.50 per hour or less	80.0%
Are in debt	72.2%
Owe less than \$1,000	
Pay more than 15½% interest	52.3%
Will repay loan within one year	48.3%
Now having difficulty with loan payments	19.7%
Worry about debt 'much' and 'a great deal'	39.9%
Making installment payments	51.0%
Owe doctor's or dentist's bills	21.2%
Never received any government assistance	32.5%
Received unemployment insurance only	44.2%
Ever received social assistance	23.3%
Currently on social assistance	10.7%
Had received social assistance for 6 months or less	72.8%
Total family income no more than \$3,000	29.9%

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF MALES OF DRUMHELLER CITY, I.D. 42
AND THE STUDY SAMPLE

	<u>DRUMHELLER*</u>	<u>I.D. 42*</u>	<u>STUDY SAMPLE</u>
Managerial and Professional	27.5	9.8	9.4
Clerical and Sales	20.3	12.0	9.4
Skilled Manual	17.9	22.3	19.2
Semi-Skilled	20.7	20.7	24.1
Unskilled	6.9	26.2	32.0
Farmers	1.5	4.6	5.9
Not Stated	5.2	4.2	--
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	1064	1142	130

* Source: 1961 Census

One-third worked between 40 and 45 hours per week, 14 per cent worked between 45 and 55 hours per week, and 18 per cent worked over 55 hours per week. At the other extreme, eleven men worked 35 hours or less per week, and 23 per cent worked between 35 and 40 hours per week. Subjects were asked, "At the end of the work day how tired are you?" Eighteen per cent of the male respondents said that they were "completely exhausted," 50.6 per cent said "tired but able to work or enjoy myself," and 31.5 per cent said "hardly tired at all."

The most frequent hourly rate of pay, earned by 36 per cent of the men interviewed, was between \$1.50 and \$2.00 per hour. Fifteen per cent earned less than that, 22 per cent earned between \$2.00 and \$2.50, 13 per cent earned between \$2.50 and \$3.00, and fifteen per cent earned more than \$3.00 per hour. When asked whether they thought "the working man is usually paid a fair wage today," slightly more than one-half, 54 per cent, responded "yes" and the rest said "no."

Only three men in the group had never worked night shift. Of the 98 who had, 52 per cent liked night shift work and the remaining 48 per cent disliked it for a variety of reasons. Currently, two-thirds of the men were employed during the 8:00 a. m. to 6:00 p. m. day shift. One-quarter work night shifts all or part of the time and ten per cent work afternoon or evening shifts.

How good are the continuing employment prospects of the men in the sample from I. D. 42? We sought to answer this question by asking men what the chances were that they would be laid off during the next year, or during the next two years. Over one-half, 52 per cent, were confident of their continuing employment throughout the period mentioned, 27 per cent felt they might well lose their jobs during the next year, and another 21 per cent felt they might lose their jobs during the second year.

Of the 18 subjects who reported self-employment sources of income, five were part-time businesses for which more detailed information is not available, and thirteen were full-time businesses. Four owned stores or shops of various kinds, four owned small trucking or bus-leasing companies, two operated garages, one owned a drilling company, one owned a hotel busi-

ness, and one was owner of a small sand and gravel company. Figures on value of the business are available for thirteen. Four were valued at less than \$10,000, eight were valued at between \$10,000 and \$50,000, and one was valued at over \$70,000.

Of the 109 women who were interviewed in I. D. 42, twenty-five were employed full-time and sixteen were employed part-time. We have full information only for the former. Nine have worked at their current jobs for less than two years, and nine for more than six years. All but five earn no more than \$1.50 per hour, the remainder earning between \$1.50 and \$3.00 per hour. Ten work no more than 35 hours per week, the remaining fifteen working more.

Almost three-quarters of the sample members, 72.2 per cent, reported being in debt, and owing amounts ranging from less than \$100 to more than \$50,000. Forty-two per cent reported owing less than \$1,000, 41 per cent reported owing between \$1,000 and \$2,000, and 17 per cent reported over \$12,000 of debt. Just over one-half, 51 per cent, reported borrowing from loan companies; 41 per cent had borrowed from banks or insurance companies; and the remaining eight per cent had borrowed from governmental sources, credit unions, friends, etc. The result of this heavy dependency on loan companies for borrowed money was that interest payments were very heavy. Fifty-two per cent of the respondents in I. D. 42 who owed money were paying more than 15-1/2 per cent interest, and only 27 per cent were paying no more than seven per cent. Almost half, 48.3 per cent, expect to have their loans paid off during the next year, and 76.8 per cent expect to have them paid off within two years. Over half, 58 per cent, said they had never had difficulty repaying loans, while twenty per cent said that they were currently having difficulty, and another seventeen per cent said they had had difficulty within the last two years. Over a half, 55 per cent, said that they worried about debt, including 42 per cent who said they worried a great deal.

About half the sample, 51 per cent, owed money on installment plan purchases. Only 29 per cent were making time payments on automobiles or trucks. Ten per cent were making payments on furniture, and seven per

cent were making payments on appliances. The proportion who reported outstanding medical and dental bills was also small, only 21 per cent. Two-thirds of this group owed less than \$100, and the remainder owed more than that amount.

It would appear from the above that although the skill and income levels of the subjects interviewed are rather low, they are basically contented rather than discontented. The proportion of the sample in debt is high, but the amounts are relatively low. There is little indication of flamboyant spending, on automobiles and appliances, for example. It is noteworthy that the interest payments which most subjects made are extremely high.

Transfer Payments

In response to the question "Have you ever had to get government assistance during hard times?" about one-third said that they had never received any, 44 per cent said they had only received unemployment insurance, and 23 per cent said that they had at some time received social assistance. Eleven per cent of subjects interviewed, 48 per cent of those ever on welfare, were members of families currently receiving social assistance payments. Two-thirds had been receiving them for more than one and a half years. Sixteen per cent of respondents had received social assistance at some time during the last four years, while another six per cent had at some earlier time. Of those who had received payments during the last four years, the last period of reciprocity lasted no more than eight months in three-fourths of the cases. In six cases it lasted for more than eighteen months.

Net Total Family Income for 1965

Subjects were asked to report net total family income, and this information was given by 200 of the 212 subjects interviewed in I. D. 42. The distribution of income for those 200 subjects is found in Table 5, which shows that 29 per cent of subjects were members of families that made no more than \$3,000, 39 per cent were members of families that made between \$3,000 and \$5,000, and 32 per cent were members of families that made over \$5,000, including 9.5 per cent who made more than \$8,000.

As noted in Chapter III, for the non-farm sample we have made the cutting point between the adequate and the inadequate income groups an in-

come of \$3,000 per year. This figure is \$1,000 higher than the \$2,000 figure used to divide the farm sample into high and low income groups. The justification for this differential is that the housing of farmers is often less expensive--and more often substandard as well, as we shall see--and they usually grow much of their food as well. Thus, the farmer does have non-cash income supplements which appear to justify this difference in income cutting points. It should be noted that the designation of \$3,000 as a minimum adequate income for non-farm families is commonly made in the literature on poverty.

We shall further divide the group with incomes above \$3,000 per year into families with an adequate income, setting a ceiling figure of \$5,000 on this category, and families with a "comfortable income" including all those earning more than \$5,000 in 1965. For the non-farm sample we shall be frequently drawing contrasts between these three groups: an inadequate income group which earned less than \$3,000 and includes 29 per cent of the non-farm sample, an adequate income group which earned between \$3,000 and \$5,000 and includes 39 per cent of the sample, and a comfortable income group which earned over \$5,000 and includes 32 per cent of the sample.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Sources of Livelihood for the Non-Farm Sample

In Table 9 is found the proportions of each of the three income groups which have selected characteristics relating to sources of livelihood. The data show that sample members in the low income group less often earned their livelihood from wages or salaries, and more often depended on profits from a small business, or on social assistance. They were more often unemployed, more often employed at their current position for less than two years, earned no more than \$1.50 per hour, and more often reported that they might lose their positions within the next two years. They are much less heavily in debt, and less often make installment plan purchase payments, but are more often in debt to doctors and dentists, more often pay more than nine per cent interest on their loans. They more often have difficulty repaying loans and worry more about their debts than subjects in the higher income groups. In terms of attitudes toward work, they more often report

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 9

PROPORTIONS OF THREE INCOME GROUPS WHICH HAVE SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS RELATING TO SOURCES OF INCOME

	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
	%	%	%
Wages, salaries or commissions main source of income	64.3	89.1	96.2
Profits from business main source of income	11.9	9.1	4.9
Male head of household self-employed or has white-collar job	20.4	13.2	25.0
Male head of household employed as unskilled worker	34.7	43.4	23.3
Men employed part time only or unemployed	34.6	17.1	12.9
Worked less than two years in present position	46.4	29.3	28.1
Wage \$1.50 per hour or less	44.7	20.4	17.5
Work forty hours per week or less	40.7	34.1	32.8
After work is "completely exhausted"	26.1	16.2	16.7
Likes night shift	55.9	55.8	38.0
Might lose job within two years	50.0	41.8	37.5
Obtains more satisfaction from work than from non-work activities	68.0	57.5	32.3
Believe working man is paid a fair wage	69.2	52.5	53.2
Not in debt	26.9	27.0	28.3
Debt of more than \$1,000	25.0	32.5	40.6
Subject is making no installment plan purchase payments	64.5	39.2	45.9
Subject owes doctor or dentist bills	22.8	25.3	14.8
Pays more than nine per cent interest	46.2	31.6	33.3
Had difficulty repaying loan within last two years	38.9	41.4	25.0
Worry much or a great deal about debt	56.1	45.5	20.0
Has received government assistance, unemployment insurance or social assistance	71.4	68.4	62.9
Has received social assistance during last two years	31.6	7.6	0.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

obtaining more satisfaction from work than from recreational activities, more often believe that the working man is paid a fair wage, more often like night shift work, and more often report being "completely exhausted" after the day's work. Thus, although they work harder, they report getting more satisfaction from their work, and have fewer wage complaints than higher income group members.

In evaluating these findings, it should be remembered that non-farm sample members falling into the low-income category tended to be older subjects. This helps to explain many of their attitudes and opinions, since older subjects are more conservative and perhaps have more limited interests.

In general, the picture that emerges of the low-income subjects is that they are more often unemployed or under-employed, at work having short-term rather than long-term prospects, which pays a low return. The data suggest that low-income subjects enjoy working, work hard at their jobs, do not object to night work, and are not discontented with the low wages paid in their lines of work. As many are debt-free, as in the other income groups, and those who do owe money more often owe medical or dental bills rather than installment plan payments. The only clues here to their impoverished situation are that they are "stuck" in undependable and low-paying work and have not managed to find better situations elsewhere. There are no indications of personal inadequacy as an obvious cause of their poverty.

The Indian Ancestry Samples

One of the most pressing problems in all Indian and Metis settlements in this province is the availability of adequate sources of income. The problem is at least threefold: (1) the traditional subsistence techniques of these groups are no longer applicable, given the reduced hunting ranges and the extinction of supplies of game; (2) a combination of (a) marginal land, (b) lack of capital for the purchase of equipment necessary in up-to-date farming practice, and (c) lack of experience and perhaps interest in farming have tended to make farming unavailable as a source of income to most of these peoples; (3) the remoteness of most of the reserves in the north and south

of the province from Edmonton and Calgary has meant that steady industrial or other wage employment has not been easily accessible for them.

A summary of the economic resources and limitations of the Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake areas is found in Appendices E and F, and these should be consulted by the reader. Suffice it to say here that all of the resources of the Lac La Biche area--soil, fish, game, timber, and wage employment--are stringently limited. The Kikino Colony was designed as a cattle-raising showplace area, but few of the families living on the reserve actually own cattle. Many of the men depend for a modicum of employment on work provided by the Colony Supervisor toward improvement of the colony. This is a relatively unattractive alternative to social assistance since the work is sporadic and poorly paid.

Aside from farming, there is not one source of employment on the Saddle Lake or Good Fish Lake reserves. It is ironic that the amount of farming done on the reserve had declined during the last 35 years. As one drives around the reserve one sees many overgrown fields which were clearly under cultivation at one time and could be yet since this is quite a productive farming area.¹ The reason for the decline in farming is that when farming was a low-capitalization, horse-and-plow operation, much of the arable land on the reserve was under cultivation. However, many of the farmers lost what little equipment they had during the depression and they had not had the capital to get started up again since that time. The policy of the Indian Affairs Branch has been to provide capital for machinery to a very few of the most "industrious and ambitious" Indians on the reserve, but this has tended to create contrasts which have discouraged small farmers on the reserve who were trying to eke out a living. The result is that a whole generation has grown up in an area reasonably rich in unused agricultural potential without being able to acquire the experience or motivation necessary to exploit some of that potential.

These problems are much more fully discussed in Appendices E and F, as we have said. The information available from the interview schedules used with the Indian and Metis samples permits us to discuss the following topics in this section of the chapter: the sources of income, total income

received, estimates of income needs, spending patterns, and attitudes toward welfare and toward migratory agricultural work. We shall take up each of these topics in order. A summary of the statistical information on which this discussion is based is found in Table 10.

Sources of Income

The main sources of income of the members of the Lac La Biche and the Saddle Lake reserves during 1965 are found in Table 11, which shows that almost as much income is received from transfer payments as from earnings. It should be emphasized that the earning figures are rough estimates because most of the subjects interviewed do not keep a record of their earnings, and have only rather hazy ideas of what their actual earnings are. In most cases it was necessary to ask subjects to recall the jobs that they had held during the course of 1965, to estimate their approximate earnings on that job, and thus to arrive at a total figure. The error factor may thus be sizable but it still does not hide the fact that the amount earned by most of the men is very little. Of the men in both samples for whom information is available, 22 per cent earned no income, an additional 26 per cent earned from \$1 to \$500, 21 per cent earned \$500 to \$1,000, 21 per cent earned \$1,000 to \$3,000, and ten per cent earned over \$3,000. The next most common source of income was social assistance: 25 per cent received no social assistance, seven per cent received less than \$250 of social assistance, 31 per cent received \$250 to \$1,000, and 36.6 per cent received over \$1,000. Sixty-nine per cent of the sample received social allowance payments, including 19 per cent who received up to \$250, 34 per cent who received \$250 to \$1,000, and 16 per cent who received over \$1,000 of social allowance funds. Sixteen per cent of those interviewed received old age assistance funds, and five per cent received disability pensions.

Total annual income figures for sample members are available only for the Saddle Lake sample. These figures, like the earnings figures, are somewhat rough, but their import is clear. Almost half the sample, 44 per cent, earn no more than \$1,000 per year, 29 per cent earn between \$2,000 and \$3,000 per year, and only 27 per cent earn more than \$3,000 per year. These figures are so uniformly low that they speak for themselves; no com-

CHAPTER IV - TABLE 10

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION
ON THE INDIAN AND METIS SAMPLES

	No.	%	Total Number of Replies
Total annual income of male - none	36	21.6	167
- \$1 - \$500	43	25.8	167
- \$500 - \$1,000	36	21.6	167
- \$1,000 - \$3,000	35	21.0	167
- Over \$3,000	17	10.2	167
Annual Social Assistance - under \$250	56	32.0	175
- \$250 - \$1,000	54	31.0	175
- Over \$1,000	64	36.6	175
Annual Old Age Assistance	20	16.1	124
Annual Disability Allowance	5	4.6	109
Annual Social Allowance received - under \$250	35	18.9	185
- \$250 - \$1,000	63	34.0	185
- Over \$1,000	30	16.3	185
Total income less than \$1,900	45	44.1	102
Mean monthly subsistence figure \$155 per month			174
Mean monthly figure for comfort \$335 per month			184
Supplement to income - garden	66	76.7	86
- cutting wood all year	59	68.6	86
- hunting up to once per month	48	55.6	86
- fishing up to once per month	45	52.4	86
Credit payments per month - less than \$15	37	24.5	151
- \$15 - \$50	35	23.1	151
- Over \$50	28	18.5	151
Believes old, sick, unemployed should get welfare	34	44.2	77
Believes everyone who needs it should get welfare	28	36.4	77
Believes welfare now covers food only	48	68.6	70
Believes nobody gets welfare that doesn't really need it	39	62.9	62
Believes payments are not adequate	75	98.7	76
Welfare payments made by vouchers	72	90.0	80
Believes best payment method is by vouchers	39	53.4	73
Believes vouchers are best because they restrict the way the money is spent	24	85.8	28
Welfare man discusses payments with head of family	39	53.4	73
Wants welfare man to discuss payments	41	74.5	55
Worked in beet fields because - good money	14	51.9	27
- no jobs near reserve	6	22.2	27
Has been to beet fields more than five times	13	44.8	29
Amount earned in beet fields-less than \$400	9	34.6	26
- \$400 - \$800	10	38.4	26
Amount saved out of earnings all or most	6	25.0	24
Nothing saved from earnings	8	33.3	24
Those who spent the money who mentioned that everything was expensive	9	45.0	20
Those who spent the money mentioning police fines, liquor, etc.	5	25.0	20
Liked nothing about the beet field work	11	47.8	23
No complaints about the beet field work	16	63.0	26
Has tried to find other work	18	66.7	27
Has found no other work available	16	69.6	23
Would prefer to work near the reserve	19	67.9	28
Prefer steady jobs	122	89.5	136

CHAPTER IV TABLE 11

INCOME RECEIVED FROM DIVERSE SOURCES BY INDIAN ANCESTRY HOUSEHOLDS

	None	\$1-\$249	\$250-\$499	\$500-\$749	\$750-\$999	\$1,000-\$1,999	Over \$2,000	Total No.	Total %
Earned	21.6	9.0	16.8	16.8	4.8	14.4	16.8	167	100
Social Assistance	25.1	6.8	6.8	14.3	10.3	30.3	6.3	175	100
Social Allowance	30.8	18.9	18.9	11.9	3.2	7.1	9.2	185	100
Old Age Assistance	83.9	.8	0.0	0.0	9.7	5.6	0.0	124	100
Disability Pension	95.4	1.8	0.0	0.0	.9	.9	.9	109	100

mentary is needed to elaborate the difficulties of trying to provide for families, averaging more than seven people per household, on such pitifully low incomes.

How much money would these families need a month for bare subsistence and for a comfortable standard of living? These questions were asked by members of the two samples. The median figure mentioned as necessary for bare subsistence was \$155 per month, or \$1,860 per year, only slightly less than \$1,980 which was the median annual income of the Saddle Lake sample. The median figure cited as necessary "for you to live the way you would like to live" was \$355 per month, or \$4,020 per year, almost exactly twice that which the average family interviewed is receiving. It should be noted that the figures mentioned are certainly conservative for these large households.

Monetary income, either earned or obtained in the form of transfer payments, is not the only source of subsistence of the sample members. Supplements to income in the form of hunting or fishing, cutting wood, and gardening were available to most of them. Information on the number of supplements actually exploited was obtained from members of the Lac La Biche sample. One-third reported making use of all four, 28 per cent the use of three, and only seven per cent reported use of none. Gardening was the most common, mentioned by 77 per cent, followed by cutting wood all year long, 69 per cent; hunting once a month or more, 56 per cent; and fishing once a month or more (which usually meant setting a gill net, not just rod fishing), 52 per cent.

Spending Practices

Little information is available from the interview schedule on the spending practices of sample members. Answers to four questions are relevant at this point. Subjects were asked if they had a little extra money how they would plan on spending it and their first and second choices were recorded. The responses are eloquent of the needs with which members of the sample live daily. Forty-six per cent of respondents mentioned house repairs as their first choice and nineteen per cent mentioned food and clothing as their first choice. Food and clothing and furniture and appliances for

the house were both mentioned as second choices by 31 per cent, and house repairs were mentioned as second choice by twenty per cent of the sample. Only four subjects mentioned entertainment, "take trips, go to ball games," as first or second choices, and only three mentioned "buy a car."

Two-thirds of the sample were making credit payments, twenty-five per cent were making payments of less than \$15 per month, 23 per cent were paying between \$15 and \$50 per month, and 18.5 per cent were paying over \$50 per month.

Attitudes Toward Welfare and Toward Work

Two of the areas which most commonly reveal the mistrust which whites have of Indians are welfare and work, and these are, of course, inter-related. Many whites are quite sure that most Indians are too lazy to work and will "sponge off welfare" if they can.

A number of items were included in the Saddle Lake interview schedule which give insight into the Indians' attitudes toward these matters. One set deals with the respondent's attitudes toward welfare, and the other set, which was asked of subjects who were working in the sugar beet fields in Southern Alberta, is reflective of attitudes toward work.

In response to the question, "Who should get welfare?" the most common answer was only those who really need it--the aged, the sick and the unemployed--mentioned by 44 per cent. Thirty-six per cent said "everyone who needs it" and 18 per cent said "everyone in this reserve." To the question, "What should welfare cover?" 64 per cent said "food and clothing," 18 per cent said "food, clothing and fuel," nine per cent added "carfare" to this list, and nine per cent said "everything." How much does welfare money which subjects receive currently cover? Over two-thirds, 69 per cent, answered "food only," and twenty per cent said "not enough for food." Subjects were asked if they felt that any people receive welfare money who do not need it. Sixty-three per cent said "no," and 37 per cent said "yes," including three per cent who said "yes, many do." All but one respondent said they felt that the payments they were receiving were not adequate to cover the needs they believed should be covered (see above).

Ninety per cent reported that they get their welfare payments in the

form of vouchers rather than cash. Eighty-six per cent said that they felt it was best this way because it provided safeguards against spending money in other ways that would not contribute to family well-being.

Has the welfare officer discussed the needs of the family with its head? Slightly more than one half, 53 per cent, indicated that he had. Three-fourths of the subjects indicated that they would like to discuss their financial situation with him. One-fourth said they would not, all but one of these asserting that the officer behaved in a discriminatory and unpleasant way toward them.

These data do not paint a picture of rapacious Indians seeking to exploit the government for all of the welfare money that they can get. They do suggest rather widespread discontent with the minimal payments which the subjects are currently receiving. Such discontent is to be expected, given the minimal subsistence level of living which is that they permit and perhaps is justified. It is noteworthy that there is no widespread discontent with the voucher system among the Saddle Lake interviewees; rather, it is commonly welcomed for the safeguards which it provides. Nor is there common dissatisfaction with the welfare officer, given the fact that since his responsibility is to help hold people's wishes in check, it would be difficult for him to discharge his responsibilities and yet be popular. In brief, it appears that the attitudes which we have discussed are very similar to those that working-class white people would voice.

The series of questions on attitudes toward work were asked of 27 subjects from the Saddle Lake Agency. They had gone to Southern Alberta to work in the beet fields during the months of May and June, in company with hundreds and hundreds of other Indians and Metis from all over Alberta, and Saskatchewan as well. Subjects were first asked why they came here to work. Two-thirds said that they made good money at the work, while another 22 per cent said there were no jobs nearer the reserve. This observation of the beet workers was supported by almost all of those interviewed in both the Saddle Lake and Lac La Biche areas. In response to the question, "Are there many steady jobs in this area (i. e. in the vicinity of Saddle Lake or Lac La Biche)?" forty-seven per cent said there were no steady jobs

available and forty per cent said that there were only a few steady jobs. Almost half of the group (45 per cent) said that they had been employed in this work five or more previous years and only ten per cent said that this was their first time here. When they were interviewed, just at the end of the work season, about a third (35 per cent) said they had earned less than \$400, 38 per cent had earned between \$400 and \$800, and 27 per cent had earned over \$800. One-quarter said that they had succeeded in saving most or all of their money, a third said that they had saved a quarter or more of their earnings, and a third said that they had saved nothing. When asked why they had not saved more the largest group (45 per cent) complained that everything was expensive, and a quarter mentioned police fines and liquor.

In response to the question, "What do you like about the job?" almost a half (48 per cent) said "nothing," and a third said that it paid good money, while ten per cent said they enjoyed farm work. Sixty-three per cent had no complaints to make about the job. The remainder complained about poor living quarters which are supplied by the farmer (11 per cent), the work is too hard (eight per cent) and the necessity of breaking up the family (eight per cent). When asked if they had tried to find other work, two-thirds replied that they had but found none available. Nine per cent said that the work to be found paid very poorly. Sixty-eight per cent said that they would certainly prefer work near the reserve if they could obtain it. Ninety per cent of the combined Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake samples said that they would prefer steady work to seasonal work.

These responses again do not combine to form a picture of lazy Indians who are unwilling to work. They rather seem similar to the responses which non-Indian working-class men might give under similar circumstances.

Summary

The picture which has emerged from this discussion is a very simple one. Because (1) the sources of income available are extremely limited, and (2) in some areas people do not have the skills and/or the equipment necessary to exploit some of the resources which are available, the amounts

of income earned by members of the sample are extremely low. The median earnings of those men in the sample who reported any earnings at all were only \$670 for the year 1965. Under these circumstances, the deficit which must be covered if life is to be sustained is met through social assistance payments, the median value of which was \$800 for 1965, and social allowance payments, the median value of which was \$420.

The standard of living expectations of the people are modest, as is shown by their estimates of minimum income needed for survival, and the minimum needed for a comfortable standard of living. The attitudes which they expressed concerning welfare suggested that they have a reasonably responsible attitude toward these payments, but also that they are dissatisfied with the amounts they now receive. They appear quite well satisfied with the way in which it is administered. Their work attitudes, as reflected in the interviews with the sugar beet workers, suggest that they are motivated by the wish to earn money, to do work which most of them find distasteful in all respects but the financial rewards, just as white men are. It is clear that most would prefer work closer to their homes, but the opportunities which they are aware of, are very limited.

FOOTNOTE

¹This is apparently a common situation on Indian reserves in Saskatchewan as well; see Helen Buckley and Sheridan Campbell, "The Farm Potential on Two Saskatchewan Indian Reserves," multilithed publication of the Centre for Community Studies, Saskatoon, Canada, 1966.



TOP : A portion of the Hamlet of Rosedale, four miles south-east of Drumheller.

BOTTOM: A family of four live in this converted granary near Blueberry Mountain.

CHAPTER V

SATISFACTION, PLANS AND PROSPECTS OF SAMPLE MEMBERS

One of the central interests of this study was in the satisfaction of subjects with their current situations, and their prospects of improvement, either through their own unaided activity or with outside help of one kind or another. This chapter contains a presentation of the data gathered on this subject. The information to be presented consists of several indices of the subjects' satisfaction with their current circumstances, their plans for improving their situation in the near future, what kinds of plans they would seek to implement if some form of partially repayable aid were available to them, and what their aspirations for themselves would be if they "could do anything they liked." This information again is presented separately for the farm and the non-farm components of the population because of the dissimilarities in their aspirations. For each of these components there is a further discussion of the differences which exist between the various income groups.

Unfortunately, we were able to collect little information on these topics from the Indian and Metis subjects who were interviewed. Such information as we have is presented in the third section of this chapter.

The Farm Samples

Satisfaction with Circumstances

A listing of the most important statistics discussed in this section is found in Table 1. Members of the farm samples were asked two questions which were designed to give some indication of their relative satisfaction with their current circumstances: "How satisfied are you with your life here, on this particular farm?" and "How well would you say you are doing, or getting ahead now?" In response to the first question almost half (46.7 per cent) said they were satisfied without qualification, and 40.9 per cent said they were satisfied with some qualifications. Only 21.6 per cent said they were unsure of their satisfaction, or were distinctly dissatisfied. Dissatisfaction was most common in the Dixonville area where it was expressed by fifteen per cent of the respondents and in the Niton and Blueberry Mountain areas where

CHAPTER V - TABLE 1

SATISFACTION WITH CIRCUMSTANCES DATA SUMMARY FOR FARM SAMPLE

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total No.	Total %
Expressed qualified or unqualified satisfaction with their farm life	83.8%	86.7%	86.9%	93.5%	379	87.6
Rating of family progress: quite well, very well or promisingly	47.2	45.1	54.9	71.3	238	54.9
Mentioned problems: external circumstances e.g. weather, etc.	53.9	49.3	17.4	26.9	157	36.9
Problems in raising capital "to get started"	14.2	17.9	21.1	25.9	83	19.5
Problems of poor health and doctors' bills	12.1	13.4	33.0	8.3	71	16.7

it was voiced by eleven per cent of interviewees.

In response to the second question, one-quarter said "poorly" or "not very well," one-fifth would not commit themselves, and the remaining 55 per cent said "promisingly," "quite well," or "very well." Again there were differences by community. Respondents in all three of the poorer areas said "poorly" or "not very well" in about thirty per cent of the cases, whereas the Innisfail subjects gave these answers in only nine per cent of the cases.

Subjects were further asked, "Have you had any particular problems or handicaps, or troubles that have held you back from getting ahead as well as you otherwise would have?" Twenty-one per cent said that they had had none. The three most frequently cited kinds of problems were those relating to external circumstances (weather, flooding river, fire, crop failures, etc.) mentioned by 37 per cent; problems in raising capital in order to get a good start, mentioned by 19.5 per cent; and poor health among family members, including high medical expenses, mentioned by 16.7 per cent. All other kinds mentioned totalled only six per cent. Respondents reporting no problems were most frequent in the Innisfail and Niton areas (28.0 per cent and 27.0 per cent respectively). As might be expected, external circumstances were mentioned with disproportionate frequency (52 per cent) by farmers in the Peace River areas where too little, or too much, rain have been problems for the last three years. Ill health was mentioned most frequently in the Niton area, by one-third of the respondents. Surprisingly, difficulties in raising capital were mentioned most frequently by Innisfail residents (26 per cent), despite the productivity of their area, and the more stable financial circumstances of most of the respondents in that area.

Plans and Prospects

The major findings discussed in this section are listed in Table 2. Three hundred and eighty-six subjects had moved to the farms on which they were interviewed at some time in their life. We asked them if they had it to do over again would they want to move to that farm. An overwhelming 75 per cent said "definitely yes," six per cent said "yes with reservations," 2.5 per cent were "not sure," and only 14.5 per cent said "no." The latter answer was given most frequently by those at Dixonville (25.6 per cent), at Blue-

CHAPTER V - TABLE 2

PLANS AND PROSPECTS DATA SUMMARY FOR FARM SAMPLE

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total No.	Total %
Subjects who had moved into the area who would definitely move here again	69.1%	79.3%	73.5%	84.5%	292	75.6
Subject would like to move away	23.7	20.0	24.2	18.2	95	21.8
Subject wants to move to better land or job opportunities	29.0	22.2	26.9	26.3	23	27.0
Subject wants to move to better facilities including retirement	25.8	11.1	11.5	26.3	17	20.0
Subject wants to move to city	33.3	10.0	33.3	33.3	16	29.1
Major obstacle to moving is financial	50.0	66.7	76.9	13.3	23	48.9
Had thought of moving for more than five years	50.0	11.1	41.7	13.3	11	23.9
Movement decision rated decisive	60.0	80.0	66.6	33.3	22	56.4
Feel it is <u>very</u> or <u>quite</u> important to raise children on the farm	68.1	69.0	60.3	71.5	256	67.0
Close ties to friends and/or relatives in community	37.1	21.8	38.5	46.8	166	37.3
Would finance improvements through loans	39.3	34.8	32.6	30.6	57	34.8
Have cash for improvements	35.7	26.9	10.6	52.8	51	31.1
Have applied for assistance to implement desired plans	10.0	9.7	16.3	5.0	18	10.5
Very confident would pay off	55.9	48.4	60.4	38.2	93	52.5
Talked over plans with no one	55.6	40.6	50.9	54.8	98	51.6
Talked over plans with district agriculturalist or other knowledgeable person	11.2	6.3	1.9	14.4	16	8.4
Could definitely repay a long term loan from profits coming from improvement	60.8	71.9	82.0	50.0	113	66.9
Could not repay a long term loan from profits	17.6	6.1	8.0	19.5	22	13.0
Would definitely like to borrow money to expand farm	38.7	64.9	67.8	18.2	103	45.6
Have tried unsuccessfully to borrow	7.0	40.5	20.7	15.1	40	18.2
Interviewers rated planning of farmers as 'very specific'	50.6	54.5	43.4	29.5	87	44.4

berry Mountain (17.2 per cent) and at Niton (16.7 per cent). Only six out of 103 subjects in the Innisfail area said "no."

All subjects were further asked, "Would you like to move away (away from here)?" and "Are you thinking or, or planning to move from here in the near future?" Twenty-two per cent said that they would like to move away and 78 per cent said they would not. The differences between the communities were slight: 24 per cent of those at Dixonville, and Niton, 20 per cent of those at Blueberry Mountain, and 18 per cent of those at Innisfail said they would like to move away. Ten per cent said they were actually planning to move, including 17 per cent of those at Blueberry, eight per cent at Innisfail, and seven per cent at Dixonville and Niton. Only four subjects said they would like to move but were prevented by circumstances from doing so.

Reasons given for wanting to move included the wish to improve financial circumstances 27 per cent; for a milder climate, 22.4 per cent; for better facilities, including comforts and conveniences available only in the city, 20 per cent; and health reasons, 15.3 per cent. Those who did not want to move were asked why they wanted to stay. Reasons involving contentment and involvement in the life of the area were given by 62 per cent. Preference for farming and for the climate and the hunting opportunities were mentioned by twenty per cent and negative reasons--"no place else to go," "it would cost too much to move"--were mentioned by sixteen per cent.

Of those who wanted to move, the largest proportion (29 per cent) wanted to move to the city. Twenty-four per cent answered in general terms, wanting to move to a better farming region, a warmer climate, etc. Twenty per cent wanted to leave the province, sixteen per cent wanted to move to another location in the same district, and nine per cent mentioned some other specific (non-urban) location in the province. The most frequent reason for not moving, given by those who said they would like to move, was financial, mentioned by 48.9 per cent. It was mentioned by 77 per cent of those at Niton, 50 per cent of those at Dixonville, 67 per cent of those at Blueberry Mountain, and thirteen per cent of those at Innisfail.

Subjects were asked how long they had thought about moving. Some twenty per cent said they had considered it for up to one year while 52 per

cent said for longer than two years, and 23.9 per cent said for more than five years.

There were very large differences between the farming communities. One-half of Dixonville subjects and 42 per cent of Niton subjects said they had thought of moving for more than five years, but only eleven per cent of Blueberry and thirteen per cent of Innisfail subjects had.

We may compare these figures with the lengths of time reported by farming subjects who had actually moved within the last ten years. Forty-one per cent said they had considered if for less than a year and only 37 per cent said they deliberated for more than two years. The implication of this may be that many who are thinking of moving will never actually move. At the close of the series of questions on moving, interviewers were asked to rate those subjects who said that they were planning to move on the apparent firmness of their decision. Fifty-six per cent were rated as decisive, and 44 per cent were rated as indecisive. This gives added support to our conjecture that many who appear to be considering or planning to move will probably not do so. We should note that the subjects were most often rated as decisive in the Blueberry Mountain area (80 per cent) and the Dixonville and Niton area (60 per cent), and least often in the Innisfail area (33 per cent).

One apparently strong sentiment tying people to the farm is their feeling that it is a good place to raise children. When asked, "Is it important to you that your children grow up on a farm?" 25 per cent said it was very important, 42 per cent said it was quite important, and only one-third said it was a little (17 per cent) or not at all important (16 per cent). Almost half (42 per cent) of those who felt it was important said it was the best environment for children to grow up in. Twenty per cent said that on the farm children are less likely to get into trouble because parents have better control, and fifteen per cent said that childhood on the farm builds character because children learn responsibility.

Other ties to the farm include relationships with relatives and friends, and ties to a "place" and a community which have become "home." When subjects were asked, "Are there people in this area whom you feel close to, or whom you depend upon, who make it difficult for you to move away because you don't want to leave them behind?" approximately 37 per cent mentioned

relatives, friends, or both, with relatives mentioned by 16.2 per cent, friends by 11.5 per cent and both by 9.4 per cent. Forty-six per cent mentioned other reasons why they would feel badly about leaving the area. The most important reasons, given by 35 per cent, were feelings about "the home place," and "the community is home." The Innisfail subjects mentioned ties to other people as a reason for staying--in 46.8 per cent of the cases--as might be expected from the higher average age of these subjects. The Blueberry Mountain people mentioned them least often, in 21.8 per cent of the cases, predictably so since most of these people had been in the area a short time. Thirty-seven per cent of the Niton and Dixonville people mentioned ties to other people as a reason for staying. Other reasons for not leaving were mentioned by about one-half of the people at Innisfail, Dixonville and Niton, and by 35 per cent of those at Blueberry Mountain.

In order to explore the improvement aspirations of the men whom we interviewed, we asked them, "What are you planning now to improve your farm? About how much would this cost?" Table 3 shows the proportions of subjects planning various improvements by community, and the median cost estimate of each improvement. The order in which improvements were mentioned, from high to low, was clear land (56 per cent), improve buildings (24 per cent), add more livestock (19 per cent), improve the house (18 per cent), buy more land (6.3 per cent), buy more machinery (4.5 per cent), various other improvements (9.9 per cent). There were differences in these choices between areas. Clearing land was the most frequently anticipated plan in the three poorer areas, mentioned by at least 63 per cent in each case. It was mentioned by only nine per cent of Innisfail farmers, who most often planned to improve their buildings. In the two Peace River areas, house improvement plans were most frequently mentioned in second place (20 per cent). More livestock was the second ranking type of plan in Innisfail and Niton.

The median estimated costs of these plans are found in Table 3 which shows that these costs were highest in the case of buying more land, making improvements in the house, and buying machinery, and lowest for the "other additions," land clearing and farm building improvements. The median cost

CHAPTER V - TABLE 3

PLANNED IMPROVEMENTS WITH TOTAL MEDIAN COSTS FOR FARM SAMPLE, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample %	Farm Sample No.	Median Cost
Plan to clear land	63.5%	80.6%	74.1%	9.3%	55.9	124	\$1,650
Plan to improve buildings	13.5	16.7	25.8	40.8	23.9	53	2,450
Plan to add more livestock	16.2	14.0	25.9	18.6	18.8	42	2,560
Plan to improve house	20.3	22.3	12.0	16.7	17.6	39	4,000
Plan to buy land	9.4	2.8	6.9	3.7	6.3	14	8,400
Plan to add more machinery	4.1	0.0	8.6	3.7	4.5	10	3,000
Plan to make other improvements	9.7	5.6	15.5	7.5	9.9	22	500

of all planned improvements was rather modest, only \$2,100.

Subjects were asked how they planned to finance these improvements. Thirty-five per cent said they planned to take out a loan, and 31 per cent said that they had the cash on hand. The remainder planned to save up the money as they were able. The summary table shows that Dixonville farmers most often mentioned a loan and Innisfail subjects most often said that they had the cash. Niton farmers least often mentioned either a loan or having the cash. The responses of Blueberry farmers tended to resemble those of Niton farmers.

In order to further explore the hopes and dreams of farmers they were asked. "What would you like to be able to do to improve your farm? About how much would this cost?" Answers to this question are summarized in Table 4. The pattern is very similar to Table 3. Land clearing is again first, buying land is again sixth, and buying machinery is again last. The discrepancies are interesting, however. Improvements to the home moved up from fourth place in the "plan to" list to a very close second place in the "like to" list. More than most occupational groups, farmers are confronted with the necessity of choosing between making capital improvements in the "business," the farm, and added comforts and a raised standard of living. Our data show clearly that the subjects interviewed generally plan to put their surpluses back into the farm, but their yearning for more comforts around the home is also apparent.

We sought to probe these desired plans by asking a number of further questions. To the question, "How confident are you that these plans would really pay off, so that you could earn a better living on this farm?" 52 per cent said they were "very confident." The response was most frequently made in Niton and Dixonville, and least often in Innisfail and Blueberry Mountain, as the summary table shows. Over half (52 per cent) had talked these "like to" plans over with no one, and only eight per cent had talked them over with District Agriculturalists or other knowledgeable people. It should be noted that the group who had most frequently done the latter, the Innisfail farmers, least often said they were "very confident" while the most confident group, the Niton farmers, had least often talked with a District Agriculturalist or other knowledgeable person (1.9 per cent). Only 10.5 per

CHAPTER V - TABLE 4

FARM IMPROVEMENTS SUBJECTS WOULD "LIKE TO" MAKE WITH TOTAL MEDIAN COSTS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample %	Sample No.	Median Cost
Like to:							
Clear land	32.6%	52.9%	62.2%	5.1%	37.3	156	\$1,750
Buy land	6.4	9.0	6.3	9.2	7.5	31	5,000
Improve farm buildings	28.4	31.8	18.9	33.6	27.6	115	2,730
Improve homes	34.8	45.4	23.4	43.9	35.6	148	4,000
Buy machinery	7.8	15.1	4.5	3.0	7.0	29	3,750
Add livestock	14.2	15.0	34.2	11.1	19.0	79	2,930
Other	18.4	22.7	9.0	7.1	13.9	58	810

cent said they had applied for assistance to implement these desired plans, the proportion being highest in Niton (16.3 per cent) and lowest in Innisfail (5.0 per cent). The applications were unsuccessful in three out of four cases. But in response to the question, "If you financed these improvements with a long-term loan, would it raise your earnings enough that you would be able to repay the money without too much difficulty?" two-thirds answered "definitely yes," and only 13 per cent said "no." It is noteworthy, again, that the farmers in the two poorest areas, Niton and Blueberry, least often said "no" (8.0 and 6.1 per cent respectively) while 17.6 per cent of the farmers in Dixonville and 19.5 per cent in Innisfail said "no."

It is generally clear that the farmers in the two least developed areas, Blueberry and Niton, have the most ambitious plans, and that the farmers in Innisfail have the least. This is appropriate both to "what is left to be done" and to the average ages of the farmers in these areas, since it will be remembered that the Innisfail sample was definitely older than those in the other areas. However, it is also clear that the farmers in the two poorer areas have the least resources, immediate or potential, with which to realize their plans. In response to the question, "If you could borrow money to expand your farm, would you take it?" 65 per cent of the Blueberry and 68 per cent of the Niton farmers said "yes" definitely, in contrast to 39 per cent of the Dixonville and 18 per cent of the Innisfail farmers. But unsuccessful past attempts to borrow were reported by forty per cent of the Blueberry farmers, 21 per cent of Niton farmers, seven per cent of Dixonville, and 15 per cent of Innisfail farmers, the latter in most cases a long time ago. Moreover, it will be remembered that a large proportion of the Blueberry and Niton farmers, 68 per cent of the former and 48 per cent of the latter, had rather lengthy off-farm employment; thus, the amount of their own time that they can pour into farm improvement is limited. Thirty-five per cent of the Blueberry and 17 per cent of the Niton farmers reported that they needed additional help on the farm, but could not afford to pay for it, in contrast to fifteen per cent of the Dixonville and five per cent of the Innisfail farmers.

Thus it appears that the farmers in the two poorer areas must experience a long period of frustration of their plans and hopes. The areas in which they live are underdeveloped and they do have plans. But they have the least

resources of time and money for the realization of these, and the resources that they do have appear to be stretched to the limit.

"New Start" Aspirations

Because some of the subjects interviewed may have found (1) that they have sunk their time and money into an area that will never be productive or (2) that they are "fed up" with the uncertainties and hardships of farming on the small scale available to them, we tried to find out what all would want to do if they could make a new and more adequately financed start. We asked the men in our sample, "If you could get more financial help, for example a loan which you would repay in part to get you set up so that you could earn a better living, would you want to use that help to move away somewhere else (including a move to the city) or would you want to put more of an investment into this farm?" A summary of the responses to this question is found in Table 5.

Almost nine out of ten farm subjects (88.1 per cent) would prefer to stay on their present farms. Thirteen per cent were content with their farms as they were, and 75 per cent wanted to make improvements with the aid of help they might receive. Six per cent said they would like to move to another farm, and only five per cent wished to leave farming entirely. The summary table shows that Innisfail respondents most often wanted to stay without changes (34.6 per cent), Blueberry residents most often wanted to improve their current farms (89.5 per cent), Niton residents most often wanted to move to another farm (8.5 per cent), and Dixonville residents most often wanted to leave the farm (11.2 per cent). It is noteworthy that half of those who wanted to move to another farm said that they wanted to stay in the same district. Two-thirds of those who wanted to leave the farm wanted skilled manual work and one-third wanted unskilled manual work.

One final set of aspiration questions was asked of all subjects on the assumption that the responses might be useful in gauging the demand for re-training programs that might be set up. These questions were; "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do? What additional training do you think you would need for such work? (If training was needed) Would you need financial assistance to complete such training?"

CHAPTER V - TABLE 5

"NEW START ASPIRATIONS" OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample %	Sample No.
Wants to stay on farm without changes, if could obtain financial help	9.9%	5.3%	1.7%	34.6%	12.7	43
Wants to stay and improve current farm, if could obtain financial help	73.2	89.5	84.7	57.7	75.4	166
Wants to move to another farm, if could obtain financial help	5.6	2.6	8.5	7.7	6.4	14
Wants to leave farm, if could get financial help	11.2	2.6	5.1	0.0	5.4	12
Wants to farm if he could do anything he wanted	78.9	84.6	85.0	87.9	83.6	195
Wants white-collar job if he could do anything he wanted	5.3	5.1	3.3	8.6	5.6	13
Wants skilled manual job if he could do anything he wanted	13.2	10.3	8.3	3.4	9.0	21
Wants unskilled manual job if he could do anything he wanted	2.6	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.7	4
Wants to be farm housewife if she could do anything she wanted	21.5	50.0	52.8	29.5	36.5	70
Wants white-collar job if she could do anything she wanted	61.5	30.0	32.1	61.4	48.4	93
Wants skilled manual job if she could do anything she wanted	15.4	20.0	13.2	9.0	14.1	37
Wants unskilled manual job if she could do anything she wanted	1.5	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.0	2

A very high proportion of the men (83.6 per cent) indicated that they would want to farm if they could do anything they wanted. Six per cent said that they would like a white-collar job, 9.0 per cent wanted skilled manual work, and 1.7 per cent wanted unskilled manual work.

There were few differences between men in the different areas. Innisfail men least often (12.1 per cent) wanted to leave the farm, and of those who did, the highest proportion wanted white-collar jobs (8.6 per cent). Dixonville men most often wanted to leave the farm (21.1 per cent) and they most often wanted skilled manual jobs (13.2 per cent).

Of the 39 men who said that they would like to go into non-farming work, only five indicated that they would need some form of financial help to train for the work they were interested in. Six said that they would need training but would not need help while they were getting it.

Dissatisfaction with their current circumstances was much more common among the women of those who were asked, "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do?" only 36.5 per cent said they would like to remain farm housewives. However, their vocational aspirations were much higher than those of the men who wanted non-farm work. Forty-eight per cent wanted white-collar positions, 14 per cent wanted skilled manual work, and only one per cent wanted unskilled manual work.

Niton women most often were content (52.8 per cent) to remain farm housewives, followed by Blueberry women (50.0 per cent), while the proportions of Innisfail and Dixonville women content to remain housewives were only 29.5 and 21.5 per cent. Of those who wanted to work, the women in Blueberry and Dixonville had lower work aspirations than did women in the other areas, 20.0 per cent in the first and 15.2 per cent in the second electing skilled manual positions. Forty-six per cent of the women who said they would like to go into non-farming work said that they would need some financial help to train for the work they were interested in.

Summary

From the information presented in this section of the chapter the following conclusions appear justified: (1) most subjects are quite well satisfied with the circumstances in which they now find themselves. (2) Very few would want to leave the farm "if they could do anything they wanted to," and even fewer if a program of aid were available, either for farm improvement or to facilitate movement into another line of work. (3) The proportion of women who would like to work at a non-farm job was much higher than the men, and the level of position to which they aspired was much higher. A higher proportion of them indicated that they would need financial help in order to become qualified for these aspirations. (4) Most respondents had a clearly worked out scheme of farm improvements which they wanted to make. (5) The prospects that farmers in the two poorest areas, Blueberry and Niton, will be able to accomplish these improvements under current circumstances are slim. Their time and financial resources are already stretched to the limit. What will be the future consequences of years of hard work and sacrifice with limited realization of these improvements for the relatively young residents of these areas, can only be imagined. For the present, however, the interview data suggest that many respondents are optimistic and working to the limits of their resources to realize their plans.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Satisfaction, Plans and Prospects of Farm Sample Members

In Table 6 are found the proportions of each of the three income groups making selected responses to satisfaction index items used in this study. It is clear that the low income group members are consistently less well satisfied with their situations than are the higher income group members. They were more often less than fully satisfied with their life as it was, more often felt they were doing "poorly" on the farm, and more often mentioned problems and obstacles to progress, especially "ill health." However, it should be noted that a surprisingly high proportion do appear to be quite well satisfied with their situations. Those in the lower income group who had moved to their current location within the last ten years reported as often as those in the higher income groups that if they had it to do over again they would

CHAPTER V - TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF EACH OF THREE INCOME GROUPS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES TO SATISFACTION INDEX ITEMS

FARM SAMPLE

SATISFACTION INDICES	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH *
Less than fully satisfied with life on the farm	61.4%	49.2%	39.0%
Feels they are doing "poorly" on the farm	31.6	22.0	8.3
Feels they are doing "promisingly" on the farm	13.9	13.0	28.3
Mentions no problems as obstacles to progress	20.4	22.5	27.6
Mentions health as obstacle to progress	22.3	14.2	5.2
Mentions problems as raising capital as obstacle to progress	16.0	24.2	22.4
Subjects who had moved into the area who would probably or definitely come again	82.0	81.9	85.2
Subjects would like to leave their farms	23.9	15.8	28.3
Reasons for wanting to move: health	23.9	5.6	7.7
Reasons for wanting to move: better opportunity	21.7	16.7	30.8
Subject mentioned financial obstacles to moving	58.6	0.0	37.5

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

come to the same area. The lower income group was a bit less likely to want to leave than the high income group. Among those who did want to leave, more lower income group members mentioned health reasons for wanting to leave, and claimed that financial obstacles prevented their leaving, than higher income group members.

The proportions of the three income groups' members making selected responses to items dealing with movement plans and obstacles are found in Table 7. There are few noteworthy differences between the income groups to be found in that table. Approximately the same low percentage of subjects in each group reported planning to move. There are signs that the lower income group is less likely to carry through with these plans than those in the other groups. More of the former reported having thought of moving for five years or more, more mentioned financial obstacles to moving, more had close relationships with relatives in the vicinity, and more were rated indecisive in their planning by the interviewer.

Table 8 presents the relationships between responses to items dealing with improvements planned by subjects and income groups. The data there suggest that subjects in the higher income groups are making more plans, are planning more soundly and are more likely to be able to carry their plans through. In response to the question, "What are you planning to do now to improve your farm?" the low income group subjects more often said they were planning to clear more land and to make improvements to their houses, and less often were planning to improve their farm buildings, than the high income group farmers.

It is clear from the Table that low income group members had less often discussed their plans with anyone, including the District Agriculturalist, than the high income group members. They were less often rated as very specific in their planning by interviewers, were less able to pay cash for their improvements, were more eager to borrow money, but were less confident that they could repay a long-term loan from profits coming from the improvement. They had more often applied earlier without success for assistance in realizing their plans than members of the high income groups. Thus it would appear that the prospects for a successful realization of their plans, and of the expanded farm operation which was the goal, was far less

CHAPTER V - TABLE 7

PROPORTION OF EACH OF THREE INCOME GROUPS: MOVEMENT
PLANS AND OBSTACLES

FARM SAMPLE

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subject had thought of moving for five or more years	33.3%	40.0%	0.0%
Subject was indecisive on movement plans	50.0	40.0	25.0
Subjects planning to leave farms	12.0	5.0	11.7
Subjects feel it is very important to raise children on the farm	23.7	23.2	31.5
No close relationships inhibiting departing from area	65.4	56.3	67.9
Close relationships with relatives inhibits departing from area	24.9	31.9	16.1
Close relationship with friends inhibits departing from area	18.1	25.2	26.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER V - TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF EACH OF THREE INCOME GROUPS MAKE SELECTION
RESPONSES TO ITEMS DEALING WITH PLANNED IMPROVEMENTS

FARM SAMPLE

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH *
Would finance improvements through a loan	38.1%	30.0%	34.8%
Would pay cash for improvements	26.2	34.0	39.1
Has applied without success for assistance	12.5	3.8	3.7
Very confident and quite confident that improvements will pay off	92.3	89.7	92.3
Talked over plans with no one	56.7	53.1	27.3
Talked over plans with district agriculturalist or other experts	13.4	12.5	27.3
Could definitely repay long term loan from profits coming from the improvement	39.0	45.2	63.0
Could not repay a long term loan, or don't know	28.0	14.5	18.5
Farmer's plans rated as very specific by interviewer	39.0	45.2	63.0
Would like to borrow money to expand farm	52.9	65.2	48.2
Would definitely not like to borrow money to expand farm	28.1	21.7	16.1
Has tried unsuccessfully to borrow	19.5	19.1	13.3
Plans to clear land	59.0	56.5	38.7
Plans to improve farm buildings	28.2	31.3	53.6
Plans to add livestock	30.4	27.7	25.0
Plans making improvements in the house	30.9	22.2	21.4
Plans to add new machinery	7.7	7.1	7.4
Plans to add land	5.9	11.7	3.3

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

likely for the low income groups than for the higher income groups. It would appear that the establishment of the farm on a profitable basis was not to be quickly anticipated for the low income groups.

In Table 9 are found the proportions of each of the three income groups making selected responses to items dealing with "new start" aspirations of the farm sample. The differences between high and low income subjects which are reflected are minimal. Low income subjects more often than those in the high income group were dissatisfied with their current farm establishment and wanted to make improvements in it. There was a slight tendency for both men and women in the low income group to want to leave farming, the men more often for skilled manual work and the women more often for unskilled manual work. However, the most noteworthy conclusion to be drawn from the data in the Table is that there are few differences between high and low income groups. This was true even when they were asked, "If you could get some financial assistance to help you improve your situation, what would you want to do?" and "If you could do anything you wanted, what would you want to do?" Even though farming is making a very poor living for most members of the sample interviewed, most are sufficiently satisfied with it, most are so well satisfied with the farming life that they would not want to leave it, even if there were no financial risk for them in the process.

The Non-Farm Sample

In this section we shall follow the same procedure as in the previous one, first citing information on satisfaction, prospects, and plans for the whole of the Drumheller sample, and then discussing differences in these data between income groups. A summary of the main points of statistical information presented in this section is found in Table 10.

Satisfaction Indices

Because of a clerical error the Drumheller subjects were not asked how satisfied they were with their current situations. However, three items provide an indication of the relative satisfaction of those interviewed. Subjects who had moved to Drumheller within the last ten years were asked, "If you had it to do over again, would you again move here?" Of the 54 members

CHAPTER V - TABLE 9

PROPORTION OF EACH OF THREE INCOME GROUPS MAKE SELECTION
RESPONSES TO ITEMS DEALING WITH "NEW START ASPIRATIONS"

FARM SAMPLE

SATISFACTION INDICES	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Wants to stay on farm without changes	11.3%	4.4%	32.3%
Wants to stay and improve currently owned farm	73.0	89.7	58.1
Wants to move to another farm	8.7	1.5	9.7
Wants to leave the farm	6.9	4.4	0.0
Man wants to farm if he could do anything he wanted	81.1	85.7	90.6
Man wants white-collar job if he could do anything he wanted	8.2	1.4	6.3
Man wants skilled manual job if he could do anything he wanted	9.0	10.0	3.1
Man wants unskilled manual job if he could do anything he wanted	1.6	2.9	0.0
Woman wants to be a farm housewife	36.6	36.7	41.7
Woman wants to be a manual worker	14.6	22.4	4.2

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER V - TABLE 10

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF DATA ON SATISFACTION AND PLANS
FOR NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS

Would definitely again move to Drumheller	69.0%		
Would like to leave Drumheller	35.3		
Cite financial reasons for wanting to leave	61.4		
All or most siblings are getting ahead better than they	49.6		
Are planning to leave Drumheller	14.9		
Cite financial reasons for planning to leave Drumheller	68.9		
Thought of leaving for more than two years	50.0		
Mentioned financial obstacles to leaving	57.9		
Have no personal ties making it difficult to leave	64.3		
Have no non-personal ties making it difficult to leave	63.4		
Want to make no changes	11.0		
Want to improve their situation in Drumheller	53.8		
Want to move but have no specific destination in mind	38.0		
Men wanting professional job, if could do anything they wanted	25.6		
Men wanting white-collar job, if could do anything they wanted	26.8		
Women wanting professional job, if could do anything they wanted	28.0		
Women wanting white-collar job, if could do anything they wanted	33.3		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Wants a job at higher level than current job	56.6%		37.2%
Wants a job at same level as current job	43.4		62.8
Wants to keep current job	28.3		18.5
Wants different job but no training needed	18.9		18.5
Will need training but no help needed	11.3		22.2
Will need training and need help	41.5		39.5

of the sample who were asked this question, 68.5 per cent said "definitely yes," 9.3 per cent said "yes" with reservations, and 16.7 per cent said "no."

All members of the non-farm sample were asked if they would like to leave Drumheller. Thirty-five per cent of the respondents, the largest proportion of any group included in this study, said that they would like to leave. The most frequently cited reasons were financial, mentioned by 61 per cent, and the wish for better facilities, mentioned by one-sixth.

Subjects were asked how well they felt they were "getting ahead" in comparison with each of their brothers and married sisters. Their responses were grouped into five categories: all siblings doing better than self; most better than self; about equal; self better than most siblings; and self better than all siblings. Some fifty per cent of the non-farm sample reported that all of their siblings were getting ahead better than they were, whereas 38 per cent said they were doing better than all or most of their siblings.

It seems safe to infer from this information that there is a sizable but not massive dissatisfaction with their circumstances among these subjects.

Plans and Prospects for the Future

Subjects were asked, "Are you thinking of or planning to move from here in the near future?" Fifteen per cent of the respondents said that they were planning to move, three-fourths because they wanted to, and one-fourth because circumstances compelled them against their wishes. An additional seven per cent said that they were seriously considering moving. One-third said that they had no specific destination in mind. One-third were going to Edmonton or Calgary, and one-sixth each were staying in the same area and leaving the province.

The reasons given for planning to leave were similar to reasons for wanting to leave. Two-thirds said that they were moving for financial reasons, and one-fifth said they were moving in search of better living facilities--housing, education. When asked how long they had been thinking about moving, one-fourth said for less than a year, one-fourth said for between one and two years, and one-half said for more than two years. When we asked 54 people who had moved to Drumheller during the previous ten years

how long they had been thinking about moving before they actually did so, sixty per cent said for no more than a month, and ninety per cent said for less than a year. These figures suggest that there may be those who talk about a move and those who actually move. This leads us to wonder whether most of those in the sample who said they are planning to move may be in the former category. Following the series of questions on moving, interviewers were asked to rate those subjects who said that they were planning to move on the decisiveness of their decision. Fifty-six per cent were rated as decisive, and 44 per cent were rated as indecisive.

When subjects were asked what had prevented their moving to date, almost two-thirds (63 per cent) gave financial reasons, twelve per cent gave reasons relating to their children, and 25 per cent mentioned various kinds of community involvements.

We asked subjects if there were "people in this area whom you feel close to, or whom you depend upon, who make it difficult for you to move away because you don't want to leave them behind." Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) answered "no," 25 per cent indicated that there were relatives, and twelve per cent said that there were friends. We also asked, "Are there any other reasons why you would feel badly about leaving this area, and moving to another area?" Again, almost two-thirds (64 per cent) said that there were none, and 31 per cent gave a variety of statements indicating that they were contented where they were and had involvements which made them unwilling to consider leaving. The remaining five per cent mentioned diverse other reasons for not wanting to leave.

In order to explore the improvement aspirations of the men in the sample, we asked them, "If you could get some financial help to get set up so that you could earn a better living, how do you think that you would want to use that help?" Their responses were probed to discover whether they wanted to move or stay, to stay in the same type of employment they were currently in or change--perhaps with the help of retraining--into another line. They were examined as to how deep these expressed interests were, how certain they were of available opportunities, and how much financial help they would need. Eleven per cent said that they did not want to change their situation at all, some of them indicating that they would not take advantage of this kind of help.

Just over half (53.8 per cent) said that they wanted to remain in Drumheller and improve their situation. Fourteen men, fifteen per cent of those who answered this question, wanted to return to farming. Eighteen men wanted to move to other areas to engage in non-farm activities. Fourteen said they had no specific destination in mind: "Anywhere there were better jobs."

There were 47 men who had plans which were sufficiently well formulated to permit making an estimate of the amount of help that they would need. Some 32 per cent said they would need up to \$5,000, 30 per cent said between \$5,000 and \$15,000, and 28 per cent said over \$15,000.

Interviewers were instructed to rate respondents on the vagueness or specificity of their aspirations. Thirty-five per cent of the 98 men were rated as specific, 14 per cent could not be rated by the interviewers, and 51 per cent were rated as vague in their aspirations.

One final set of aspiration questions were asked of all subjects on the assumption that the responses might be useful in determining the demand for retraining programs. These questions were, "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do? What additional training do you think you would need for such work? (If training was needed)--Would you need financial assistance to complete such training?" The responses to these questions are found in Table 11. The men's choices were almost equally divided between professional, white-collar, skilled manual and unskilled manual work. Women mentioned skilled manual work in only one case and mentioned white-collar work more frequently. Twenty-eight per cent of the men and 18.5 per cent of the currently employed women would keep their current jobs, even if they could do anything else. Men aspired to a different job in the same job-skill and prestige level in 43 per cent of the cases and to a job at a higher skill and prestige level in 57 per cent of the cases. Of the women who had been previously employed, 63 per cent wished for a job on the same level as their current one, and 37 per cent wished for a higher level job. Nineteen per cent of both the men and women mentioned a job other than their current employment, but said they would require no new training. Eleven per cent of the men and 22 per cent of the women said that they would need retraining, but would not need financial help. Forty-two per cent of the men and forty per cent of the women said that they would need help in getting the train-

CHAPTER V - TABLE 11

WORK WANTED "IF YOU COULD DO ANYTHING YOU WANTED TO"
BY NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY SEX

	<u>Male (%)</u>	<u>Female (%)</u>
Want professional work, if they could do anything they wanted	25.6	28.0
Want white-collar work, if they could do anything they wanted	26.8	33.3
Want skilled manual work, if they could do anything they wanted	26.8	1.0
Want unskilled manual work, if they could do anything they wanted	20.8	24.7

ing for the job they would most like to do.

Following this series of questions, interviewers were instructed to rate the respondents on the "liveness" or "deadness" of the interest which they had in the area of work indicated. Fifty-four per cent of the 96 men for whom these ratings were made were rated as having a live interest, 27 per cent were rated as having a dead interest, and for nineteen per cent of the subjects the interviewer did not feel sufficiently confident to make a rating.

Summary

The data that we have reviewed in this section of the chapter show that there is much more dissatisfaction among the members of the Drumheller samples than among members of the farm samples. Many more of the former would like to leave their current location, and would like to be employed in different occupations than was true of the farm sample. Subjects most often mentioned financial obstacles as the reason why they could not do what they would like to do. Thus, in the absence of assistance programs, most of the subjects interviewed will probably tend to remain in their current circumstances, unless driven out by changed employment conditions.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Satisfaction, Plans and Prospects of the Non-Farm Sample Members

In Table 12 are found the proportions of each of the three income groups making selected responses to items dealing with satisfaction with current situation, current plans, and "new start" aspirations. The data in the table suggest that dissatisfaction with the present situation is more common among the members of the non-farm low income group than among members of the farm low income group. Among the non-farm group members, fewer of the lower income group who had moved to I. D. 42 within the last ten years said they would do so again. More said they would like to leave the area, citing financial reasons for wanting to, than did members of the high income group.

A minority of sample members said they were planning to leave the area but, as with the farm sample, the data in the table give reason for questioning whether the low income subjects will be able to carry through their plans. Lower income group members more often mentioned financial reasons

CHAPTER V - TABLE 12

PROPORTIONS OF THREE NON-FARM INCOME GROUPS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES TO ITEMS DEALING WITH SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT
SITUATION, CURRENT PLANS AND NEW START ASPIRATIONS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subjects who had moved into the area who would probably or definitely again move to Drumheller	60.0%	81.8%	88.2%
Would like to leave Drumheller	44.6	28.3	34.4
Mention financial reasons for wanting to leave	59.1	40.7	42.1
Mention facilities as reason for wanting to leave	4.5	18.5	21.1
All or most siblings are getting ahead better than they	60.6	48.6	41.6
Planning to leave Drumheller	19.6	14.1	14.8
Mention financial reasons for planning to move	90.0	40.0	77.8
Thought of leaving for more than two years	42.8	69.2	36.4
Mention financial obstacles to moving	78.6	41.7	53.3
Subject rated as decisive in plans to move by interviewers	33.3	71.4	66.7
Has personal ties making it difficult to leave	42.1	36.4	34.4
Would want, with help, to make no changes in situation	16.7	17.3	3.0
Would want, with help, to improve his/her situation in Drumheller	52.8	46.2	57.6
Would want, with help, to leave Drumheller	30.6	36.5	39.4
Men wanting professional job if could do anything they wanted	20.0	27.3	25.9
Men wanting white-collar job if could do anything they wanted	50.0	15.2	25.9
Women wanting professional job if could do anything they wanted	20.0	50.0	21.7
Women wanting white-collar job if could do anything they wanted	30.0	30.0	47.8
Wants a job at higher level than current job	60.0	55.9	50.0
Wants a job at same level as current job	40.0	44.1	50.0
Men would need financial help to get desired job	55.6	75.0	45.5
Women would need financial help to get desired job	42.9	52.0	42.9

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

for planning to move, but they also more frequently cited financial obstacles to moving. They were less often rated as decisive in their plans to move by the interviewers.

In response to the question, "If you could get some financial help to get set up so that you could earn a better living, how do you think you would use that help? Would you want to use that help to move where there are better opportunities?" Almost six times as many subjects in the low and medium income groups as in the high group said that they would want to make no changes in their current situation. More of the high than the low income group said that they would like to leave Drumheller. Clearly, there is not a massive demand for change on the part of the low income group. About one-third of the sample said that if they could get economic support during the period of transition they would leave Drumheller.

In response to the question, "If you could do anything you wanted what kind of work would you like to do?" half of the high income group said that they would want a job at a higher level than their current jobs. The figure for those in the low income group was sixty per cent. More of the latter than the former said that they would like subprofessional, white-collar work. More of the men in the low income group than the high income group indicated that of the men in the low income group than the high income group indicated that they would need financial help if they were to be able to get this desired job.

In summary, it appears from the information available that the low income members of the non-farm sample are somewhat less venturesome than are the higher income members, despite the fact that they are less satisfied with their current situations than are the latter. Nevertheless, it also appears that the "active demand" is sufficiently strong among the low income group members that if a removal and/or retraining program were available it would be used by many low income families in the I. D. 42 area, and quite probably by people in other areas in similar circumstances.

We have seen from the limited information presented on the sources of livelihood of the Indian and Metis sample members in the previous chapter that the earning opportunities available to them are extremely limited. Despite the heavy social assistance and social allowance payments that are made to them, the standard of living available to most of them is extremely low. How satisfied are they with these arrangements? What other alternatives are open to them? How interested are they in attempting to seize these opportunities? What opportunities and what hazards do they believe that the city holds for them? In this section of this chapter we shall present such answers to these questions as are possible within the limits of the interview data available. In this section of the chapter we shall discuss the following topics in sequence: the work aspirations of Indians and Metis, their perceptions of their own communities, their perceptions of the city, and the retraining prospects available to them. A summary of the statistical information on which this discussion is based is found in Table 13.

Work Aspirations

The data for both the Saddle Lake and the Lac La Biche samples clearly show that the men would prefer to have steady, well-paying, outdoor work. Ninety per cent said they preferred steady to seasonal work and the same proportion said they would prefer outdoor to indoor work. When asked which they felt was more important in choosing a job--the amount of pay, the work associates, the type of work or the prestige of the work--54 per cent said the amount of pay, and 35 per cent said the type of work.

The results of these interests are seen in a series of job preference questions that were asked of members of the Lac La Biche sample. In response to the question, "If you were again fifteen years old what kind of a job would you try to aim for--rural, seasonal, unskilled work; steady rural work such as ranching or farming; blue-collar work such as mechanic or truck driver; or white-collar work?" Fifty-one per cent said blue-collar work, and 25 per cent said steady rural work. None said seasonal rural work, the only work which is currently generally available to most adult male Indians and Metis in Alberta today.

CHAPTER V - TABLE 13

A SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION RELATING TO SATISFACTION,
PLANS AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN ANCESTRY SAMPLES

	No.	%	Total Number of Respondents
Respondents prefer steady jobs	122	89.5	136
Respondents prefer seasonal jobs	10	7.4	136
Important aspects of job - amount of pay	26	54.2	48
Important aspects of job - type of job	17	35.4	48
If 15 again, would want steady, rural job - cattle, crop farming	41	50.6	81
If 15 again, would want steady, unskilled rural job	20	24.7	81
(For information on job preferences, please see Table 14.)			
Think life is better on the colony	58	49.6	117
Think life is better off the colony	44	38.0	117
Respondent would not like to move to city	143	79.0	181
Respondent found city whites no different from others	70	52.2	134
Respondent thought city was bad	45	33.3	135
Respondent thought city was good	40	29.6	135
Found no difference between city Metis and others	47	41.6	113
For help in the city would turn to:			
Police and welfare	54	55.1	98
Friends and relations	19	19.4	98
Indian & Metis Friendship Association	8	8.2	98
Best chances are in the country	65	58.6	111
People in the country are the most helpful	71	62.8	113
Country is best for children	80	73.4	109
Prices are highest in the country	45	40.5	111
Most steady work is in the city	44	39.6	111
Most steady work is in the town	28	25.2	111
There are most dangers in the city	96	85.0	113
Town is best for schools	57	51.4	111
Most trouble with the police in town	49	44.1	111
Country is the best place for grown children	45	40.9	110
Town is the best place for grown children	27	24.5	110
Would go to adult education classes	99	57.2	173
Attended adult education classes	21	26.9	78
Adult education classes should continue	77	98.7	78
Had heard of Ft. McMurray vocational training school	47	83.9	
Would like to attend the vocational training school	33	73.3	

In Table 14 are found the proportions of male respondents in the Lac La Biche sample who indicated the job that they would "most" and "least" like to have from ten lists of jobs with four possibilities on each list. Male members of the Lac La Biche sample were asked: "If you could pick a job of your choice and pay and hours of work were the same, which would be your first choice and which would be your last choice?" The data indicate a clear preference for cattle raising and crop farming, followed by fishing and trapping, factory work and work as a machinist and construction worker, in that order. The work which was most disliked, by order of frequency, included picking rocks and roots, washing dishes, serving as a mailman, work in sugar beets, logging, and work on highway crews--with the exception of "mailman" all work which is currently most available to Metis and Indians. These choices clearly indicate the preference for steady outdoor work. Blue-collar work which is indoor work is somewhat distasteful in contrast to outdoor alternatives to the men interviewed. The outdoor work which is now available to these men is clearly quite distasteful to them as it would be to white workers.

Perceptions of Their Own Communities and of the City

Just half of the subjects interviewed had ever lived in an Indian reserve or a Metis colony. In response to the question, "Would you say that life was better on the colony (reserve) or off the colony?" one-half said that it was better on the colony and 38 per cent said it was better off the colony. The remainder gave various qualified answers. It was clear from their remarks that those who favored the colony viewed it as a sanctuary from the pressures and frustrations of the white society.

Their attitudes toward the city reveal considerable ambivalence. The city is to most of those in the Saddle Lake and Lac La Biche areas a place of opportunity and excitement on the one hand, and of frustration and danger on the other hand. These conflicting valences are reflected in the subjects' answers to a number of questions about the city which are summarized in Table 13. In response to the question, "Would you ever consider moving to the city?" seventy-nine per cent answered "no," unconditionally, and only eight per cent gave an unconditional affirmative answer. To the question, "Are city whites preferable to country whites?" fifty-two per cent said there were no differences. The remainder felt that country whites were preferable, almost three

CHAPTER V - TABLE 14

**"MOST LIKED" AND "LEAST LIKED" JOBS AMONG FOUR ALTERNATIVES
BY LAC LA BICHE MALE SAMPLE MEMBERS**

<u>Job Preferences</u>	<u>Total %</u>	<u>Total No.</u>
Proportion who would most like to have a job as a mechanic	33.8	77
and most like to have a job as construction worker	33.8	77
and least like to have a job as a mailman	58.0	69
Proportion who would most like to have a job as a factory worker	40.8	76
and least like to have a job as a dishwasher	62.7	67
Proportion who would most like to have a job raising cattle	60.8	79
and least like to have a job as a highway road crew	36.8	68
Proportion who would most like to have a job fishing and trapping	61.5	78
and least like to have a job in sugar beet fields	54.3	70
Proportion who would most like to have a job fishing and trapping	46.8	77
and least like to have a job as a factory worker	34.8	66
Proportion who would most like to have a job as a construction worker	32.9	85
and least like to have a job logging	35.0	71
and most like to have a job raising cattle	62.2	80
and least like to have a job picking rocks	72.7	77
Proportion who would most like to have a job crop farming	70.1	82
and least like to have a job dishwashing	45.0	71
Proportion who would most like to have a job stooking	31.5	73
and least like to have a job stooking	36.8	68
Proportion who would most like to have a job raising cattle	72.0	90
and least like to have a job dishwashing	70.0	79

to one. When asked to compare Metis people in the city with Metis people around Lac La Biche, 42 per cent said that there were no differences, 31 per cent said that the local Metis were preferable, and only five per cent said that city Metis were preferable. To the global question, "Is the city as a whole good or bad, would you say?" thirty-three per cent said the city was bad, thirty per cent said it was good, and nine per cent said it was good, "but not for me."

One of the most important reasons for the mistrust felt toward the city is the sense of lonely helplessness which threatens there. This is shown in responses to a question asking to whom the respondents would turn for help if he got into trouble in the city. More than 55 per cent mentioned impersonal white agencies: the Police and the Department of Public Welfare. Nineteen per cent mentioned friends or relatives and only eight per cent mentioned the Indian and Metis Friendship Association. Seven per cent said there was no help to be found anywhere in the city.

Further attitudes toward the city are revealed in a series of questions asking where people would prefer to engage in a variety of activities, or where they would best find certain advantages. These responses are listed in Table 13. It is clear from studying this list that the local area is preferred over both the city and the town of Lac La Biche for virtually all items involving relationships with people or enjoying oneself. The only criticism of the country made was that the prices were highest in country stores. The conflict regarding the city center is that it is recognized as the place where steady work is most available, and where there are the most dangers. A similar but lesser conflict involving the town is seen in that most people felt that schools were best in the town, but also that the most trouble with the police is found there. The resolution of these conflicts appears to lie in remaining in the country. Not only do four-fifths say that they would not consider moving to the city, but 41 per cent feel that it would be best for their children to remain in the country after they are grown up. Twenty-five per cent said that the town would be the best for their children and only twenty per cent said the city would be best.

Retraining and Adult Education Opportunities and Interests

Subjects in both the Saddle Lake and the Lac La Biche samples were asked whether they would be interested in attending (evening) adult education classes, if these were available. Fifty-seven per cent said yes, three per cent said "probably," and 39 per cent said that they would not be interested. During the winter of 1965-66 adult education classes were regularly held at a central location on the Saddle Lake Reserve. Twenty-six per cent of those in the Saddle Lake sample attended these classes. All but one member of this sample felt that these classes should be continued because of the information and insights which those in attendance had received.

Male subjects were also asked if they had heard of the vocational training school for Indians at Ft. McMurray. Eighty-four per cent of them had heard. When the men were asked if they were interested in the opportunity to attend this school for vocational training, 73 per cent said that they were interested.

Summary

The picture which emerges from the Indian ancestry samples we have described in this section is a consistent one. Four-fifths of the subjects interviewed want to and plan to remain in the areas in which they now live, and they seek to influence their children in the same way. They are quite dissatisfied with the income opportunities currently available to them, and the majority tend to consistently reject the unskilled seasonal jobs in which they work from time to time, when asked to choose between these and other jobs. The work that they would prefer to do is steady rural, outdoor work, such as crop farmers or cattle raisers. In the absence of this they would prefer skilled manual work. They recognize that the best steady work opportunities exist in the city, but they also see this as the most dangerous place to live, and so they are not interested in moving there. Improvement of the situations where they are is the desire of most. There is considerable interest in adult education classes as a source of information useful in improving their situations, and there is considerable interest expressed in the Ft. McMurray vocational education school. However, it is doubtful whether there is general awareness of the relocation that would be necessary for most if they were to make adequate use of the skills acquired at the vocational school.



TOP : This home is typical of dwellings on the Saddle Lake Reserve. This house has no electricity, no telephone and no plumbing.

BOTTOM: Nine children sleep in this crowded attic in the Dixonville area. There is no bedding on the large bed in the foreground and the mattress cover is worn through.

CHAPTER VI

HOME AND FAMILY LIFE

In this chapter we come to one of the areas of crucial importance in this study, the home facilities and family life of the sample members. It is in the home, out of the affectional and material nourishments; the protections and the lacks of protection from infection, disease, and the elements; that the physical and psychological, social and moral being of the child are given the earliest and most basic impressions. Here he takes physical form, acquiring the shape in which he must live to his pride or his shame for the rest of his life. Here he acquires his understanding of the kind of person he is, and his secret feelings of pride and shame that accompany this understanding. Here he learns from teaching, but more from the daily relations with each other of father, mother and children, how people are treated by other people, what behavior is normal and right, abnormal and wrong.

It is in the home that many of the child's conceptions of what constitutes normal and decent levels of living are most basically shaped, and thus where his aspirations and expectations regarding the home that he will eventually establish, are given early form. It is here where the psychological stresses of poverty, worry, frustration, blaming and self-depreciation will be voiced with minimal disguise. And here the conflicts into which these stresses may erupt are waged, between parent and parent, parent and child, child and child.

We are fortunate in having rather extensive information on the home and family life of the Indians and Metis as well as the farm and non-farm samples. For these groups we shall first describe the home, and its distance from a variety of important facilities. Then we shall describe the number of children, the birth control views of the family, the number of people in the household, and the relative crowding. Thirdly, we shall present information on the degree of harmony or disharmony found within the family. Finally, we shall describe the aspirations existing within the families for their sons and daughters, and the apparent realism of these expectations. We shall conclude each section with a summary of the differences noted between the high and low income groups.

Whereas in previous sections we have described the data for the farm samples and for I. D. 42 separately, because the difference between farmers and wage workers make it inconvenient to try to integrate the discussions, this is not true of the material in this chapter. Accordingly we shall discuss both samples in the same section.

As before, a summary of the main points of statistical information presented in this section of the chapter is found in Table 1.

The White Sample

The Home

There was a very wide range in the size and quality of the houses in which the members of our white sample lived. We shall first describe those in which the farm sample members lived. Nine farm families lived in one-room shacks, while at the other extreme fourteen lived in houses having nine or more rooms. The median number of rooms per house was five. Almost one-fifth (18.6 per cent) of the families lived in homes having no more than three rooms, 53.5 per cent lived in four-to-six-room houses, and 27.9 per cent lived in houses having more than six rooms. In Blueberry almost half of the families (47.2 per cent) were living in houses having no more than three rooms, as were twenty per cent of those in Dixonville, twelve per cent in Niton, and three families in Innisfail. At the other extreme, 44.4 per cent of those at Innisfail, 33 per cent of those at Dixonville, 16.7 per cent of those at Blueberry, and 14.7 per cent of those at Niton lived in homes having seven or more rooms. The range of size of the homes in Drumheller was narrower than it was in the farm segments of the sample. Only 7.9 per cent of the homes in Drumheller in contrast to 18.6 per cent of the farm areas had three or fewer rooms, but also only 13.2 per cent in the former, as compared with 26.9 per cent of the latter, had seven or more rooms.

Our source of information on the quality of the subjects' homes is the Edwards' Scale¹ which consists of a check list of items which a household may or may not contain. The original check list included twenty-seven items which are scored on the basis of possession or non-possession.² In the present study we added three additional items: television, clothes dryer, and deep freezer. The maximum possible score, instead of being 27 as in

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 1 - (page 1)
SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON HOME, CHILDREN AND FAMILY HARMONY
FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total Sample %	Sample No.
Families living in houses with no more than three rooms	20.0%	47.2%	11.5%	5.6%	18.6%	7.9%	15.0%	21
Homes scoring below 12 on Edward's Scale	14.3	30.5	6.4	0.0	11.2	3.6	8.6	30
Families having a central heating system	29.2	13.9	16.1	76.8	34.6	76.1	48.4	165
Families having a telephone	6.5	5.6	83.9	77.2	44.4	85.2	57.9	202
Families having a power washing machine	88.6	86.1	88.5	94.6	89.6	93.0	90.8	314
Families having a bathroom	23.7	16.7	14.5	86.0	35.6	27.4	32.9	114
Families having a deep freezer	69.3	66.7	58.1	93.0	71.1	39.5	60.7	210
Families living over 25 miles from a doctor	85.1	79.0	57.4	0.0	55.4		57.3	141
Families living over 25 miles from a hospital	86.3	79.0	67.2	0.0	59.2	No Data	61.7	151
Families living over 10 miles from an elementary school	37.6	39.5	34.9	12.7	31.2	Available	31.5	77
Families living over 25 miles from a high school	25.7	79.0	1.5	0.0	26.5		22.6	55
Families living over 10 miles from a general store	7.6	81.4	7.5	7.3	25.9		20.6	50
Families living over 10 miles from a provincial highway	24.4	100.0	22.1	1.8	37.1		32.0	78
Six or more children in family	24.6	19.4	32.3	17.2	24.2	26.0	24.7	85
Ideal number of children is three or less	28.3	42.8	27.6	28.3	30.1	37.0	32.3	201
Homes with four or more children at home	33.9	22.8	27.7	17.2	22.9	26.3	24.1	88
Homes averaging more than one person per room	20.9	52.7	32.8	7.5	25.8	28.4	26.7	90
Oppose or not sure about use of birth control	15.0	17.9	18.5	9.2	14.9	17.2	15.6	99

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 1 - (page 2)

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON HOME, CHILDREN AND FAMILY HARMONY
FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total Sample %	Total Sample No.
Can specify where birth control information is available locally	47.4%	63.5%	45.7%	59.8%	52.7%	58.7%	54.6%	339
Mentioned one or more family worries	15.1	22.4	20.9	35.3	22.9	51.1	31.7	186
Mentioned one or more disagreements with children	45.5	23.3	68.7	68.0	37.7	66.0	57.3	313
Mentioned one or more disagreements between parents	48.1	45.8	73.6	82.4	63.5	83.1	69.5	401
Conflict between parents rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	9.3	1.6	6.1	17.5	9.4	31.4	16.4	99
Conflict between parents and children rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	1.6	1.6	7.3	29.4	10.2	29.7	16.4	96
Family discord rated as "severe" or "moderate"	8.1	3.3	3.7	13.0	7.5	23.7	12.4	73

Edwards' original score, was now thirty.

In Table 2 is found the distribution of Edwards' Scale scores, by community, for the total farm sample. If we define a scale score of 11 or less as a low score, 12-22 as medium, and over 22 as a high score,³ we may say that 11 per cent of the homes in the farm sample scored in the low range, 58 per cent scored in the middle range, and 30.8 per cent scored in the high range. There are clearly wide differences in areas. The Blueberry Mountain area has the lowest distribution with 30.5 per cent of the sample houses in that area scored in the low range and only 5.6 per cent scored in the high range. In the Dixonville area, 14.3 per cent scored in the low range but 27.3 per cent scored in the high range. In the Niton area fewer (6.4 per cent) scored in the low range, but fewer (9.7 per cent) also scored in the high range. In the Innisfail area three-fourths of the homes scored in the high range, and none scored less than sixteen points. The quality of homes in I. D. 42 as measured by the Edwards' Scale was somewhat distinctly superior to that in the farming areas. Only 3.6 per cent of the homes in the former area, in contrast to 11.2 per cent of the homes in the latter area, fell in the low (under 12 points) score range, while 37.7 per cent, in contrast to 30.8 per cent, fell in the high (over 22 points) range.

The frequencies of ownership of a central heating system, bathroom, washing machine, deep freeze, and telephone, are seen in Table 1. The most frequently owned of these facilities by farm sample members are power washing machines (89.6 per cent), deep freeze (71.1 per cent), telephone (44.4 per cent), inside bathroom (35.6 per cent), and central heating system (34.6 per cent). The Blueberry Mountain area was lowest in frequency of ownership of power washer, telephone, and heating system; the Niton area was lowest in ownership of deep freezers and bathrooms, followed in both cases by the Blueberry Mountain area. In the Innisfail area, ownership of these facilities exceeded 75 per cent in every case. More than twice as many homes in Drumheller have central heating systems (76.1 per cent versus 34.6 per cent) and telephones (85.2 per cent versus 44.4 per cent) than in the farming areas. Power washing machines are also more commonly

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 2

LOW, MEDIUM AND HIGH EDWARDS' SCORES
OF HOMES OF WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS,
BY COMMUNITY

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*	TOTAL NO.	%
Dixonville	14.3	58.5	27.3	79	100
Blueberry	30.5	63.9	5.6	36	100
Niton	6.4	83.8	9.7	62	100
Innisfail	0.0	24.5	75.4	57	100
Sum of Farm Samples	11.1	58.0	30.8	234	100
Drumheller	3.6	58.8	37.7	114	100
Total Sample	8.5	58.4	33.0	350	100

*On the Edwards' Scale a score of 11 or less was considered low
12-22 as medium, and over 22 as high.

owned (93.0 versus 89.6 per cent). However, bathrooms and freezers are less common in the Drumheller sample area (where the incidence was 27.4 per cent and 39.5 per cent) than in the farming areas (35.6 and 71.1 per cent).

How accessible is the home to a variety of facilities necessary to the comfort, safety, and normal development of the family members? We sought to obtain a general answer to this question by asking the farm respondents how far they lived from a general store, a provincial highway (which provides access to a variety of comfort and safety facilities), a doctor, a hospital, an elementary school and a high school. The answers to these questions are found in Table 1. The median distance of subjects interviewed from a general store was three and a half miles, from a provincial highway was four miles, from an elementary school was 7.5 miles, from a high school was 12.5 miles, from a doctor was 28 miles, and from a hospital was 31 miles. On the average, the people in Blueberry Mountain were more distantly located from all facilities except the medical facilities, and here the average distance of people in the Dixonville area was a bit greater. Innisfail was the most accessibly located to all facilities with the exception of the general store. Drumheller residents were not asked how far they lived from a hospital, doctor, high school, general store, etc., as were the farm sample members, because all subjects lived on the fringe of the City of Drumheller in which all of these facilities are located.

The median number of children for the whole sample is three, and 24.7 per cent of the families interviewed had six or more children. The area with the largest families was Niton, where 32.3 per cent had more than six children, followed by Dixonville, 24.6 per cent; Blueberry Mountain, 19.4 per cent; and Innisfail, where 17.2 per cent had six or more children. The most frequently cited ideal number of children was four, mentioned by 44.2 per cent of the sample. Eighteen per cent mentioned six or more as the ideal number, Blueberry subjects wanted fewer children than did the other farm samples, as Table 1 shows. The Drumheller families had a higher proportion of small families, two or less children in the family, and a higher proportion of large families, having six or

more children, than the farm families, the percentages of small families being 43.5 for Drumheller and 31.8 for the farm, and of large families, 36.0 for the former and 25.2 for the latter. As with the farm people, the most frequently cited ideal number of children was four, mentioned by 42.1 per cent. A larger proportion of Drumheller residents mentioned three or less as the ideal number, in comparison with the farm people, the proportions being 37.0 and 30.1 per cent respectively.

Many of the families interviewed had had many children, although in most of the large families some children had left home. In 41 per cent of the homes there were no children or only one child, in 36 per cent there were two or three children, and in 23 per cent there were four or more children. Dixonville and Niton had the largest number of children at home and Blueberry and Innisfail the fewest, as Table 1 shows. In Drumheller at the time of the interviews, there were more no-child and single-child families (45.3 per cent) and more families with four or more children (26.3 per cent) than in the farm areas where these percentages were 40.8 and 22.9 respectively.

Thus the sample as a whole did not present a picture of very severe overcrowding in the home. The median number of people per room was about .9. For a minority, however, overcrowding was a problem. Just over one out of four, 25.8 per cent of the farm families, exceeded a ratio of one person per room, and one half that group had 1.5 or more persons per room. This was true of more than half (52.7 per cent) of the Blueberry Mountain families, of a third of the Niton families, of one-fifth of the Dixonville families, and of seven per cent of Innisfail families. The incidence of overcrowding in Drumheller was about the same as for the farm group as a whole. In the former area, 28.4 per cent of the families, as compared with 25.8 per cent in the latter, had more than one person per room.

To what extent are the sample members potentially able to restrict their production of children to the number that they want and can afford to raise without hardship? Two items on the interview schedule were included to provide an answer to this question: "How do you feel about the use of birth control procedures by married couples?" and "Is birth control information available anywhere in this region? . . . If 'yes,' where is it available?"

In response to the first question a surprisingly large majority indicated that they favored use of birth control procedures. Only ten per cent expressed opposition, 44 per cent said they favored it with qualifications, and 41 per cent favored it without qualification. Opposition was strongest in Niton where it was expressed by 16 per cent of those interviewed, and weakest in Dixonville and Innisfail where only six per cent voiced opposition. Despite the fact that there were more than twice as many Roman Catholics and Orthodox Church members in Drumheller as in the farm areas (24.1 per cent and 11.4 per cent respectively), there was remarkably little difference in the attitudes of subjects in these areas toward birth control. Those definitely not in favor, or not in favor with qualifications, made up 15.2 per cent of the Drumheller sample, and 10.0 per cent of the farm sample, and those definitely in favor made up 36.0 and 41.2 per cent of these samples respectively. Eighty-three per cent were sure that birth control information was available "in this area" and 52.7 per cent could specify where it was available. Five per cent were not sure, and only eleven per cent said they did not think it was available. Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain were the areas where birth control information was least available, with sixteen per cent of the subjects in each area denying that it was available. Eighty-three per cent of the Drumheller sample, the same proportion as in the farm sample, were sure that birth control information was available in the area, and 58.7 per cent, a larger proportion than in the farm areas, could specify where it was available. Three per cent were not sure and only 13.3 per cent claimed that it was not available.

Thus, it would appear that the more heavily Roman Catholic population of I. D. 42 has the same resources for limiting family size as the farm population, and an almost equally large proportion of subjects appear willing to use these resources when they want to limit their family size. It should be noted, however, that in comparison with the current Canadian average, both the farm and the non-farm samples mention a remarkably high number of children as ideal.

Family Harmony

Studies made in the United States during the Depression suggested clearly that strong, closely-knit families are able to weather virtually any economic storms that may come and be strengthened by the experience. However, families which are of uncertain solidarity were found to be highly vulnerable to external pressure. When family members suffer from the pressures of worry, overwork, overcrowding, they often "take it out" on fellow family members. During the course of our field work we heard a number of examples of families which had broken up under the stress of such pressures. To what extent are such tendencies reflected among our sample members?

To answer this question we included in the interview schedule a number of questions dealing with family problems, with husband-wife disagreements, and with parent-child disagreements. People were asked: "Are there any things in your family life that you are especially worried about? Do you have any disagreement at all with your children? If so, what are the things that you disagree about in order of frequency? What kinds of things do you and your husband often disagree about?" and the interviewers were instructed to rate the amount of discord and of conflict between parents, and of conflict between parents and children as severe, moderate, slight, or none. It should be stressed that we have some question about the validity of our data here. Interviewers often felt that subjects "clammed up" when they came to this section of the interview, or sometimes tried to pass it off with a laugh. We feel sure, accordingly that our data underestimates the amount of disagreement and conflict actually present in families interviewed. Where conflict and discord were recorded on the interview schedules, we do feel quite certain that it did in fact exist in the family. With this understanding about the limitations of the data in mind, let us turn to the question we are interested in: what was the incidence of various kinds of worries, stresses, and conflicts in the families, and with what are they associated?

In response to the question, "Are there things in your family life that you are especially worried about?" 77.1 per cent of the farm respondents said "nothing." Eight per cent mentioned health worries, five per cent financial worries, 4.7 per cent problems in connection with the rearing of their child-

ren, 2.7 per cent mentioned worries about the education of their children, and 2.5 per cent mentioned a variety of other worries. Innisfail residents more often mentioned health worries (13.8 per cent) and child rearing worries (9.8 per cent), but less often mentioned financial worries (2.9 per cent). Worries were next most frequently mentioned by Blueberry Mountain residents, primarily about finances (8.6 per cent) and health (8.6 per cent). Child rearing problems were only mentioned by 3.4 per cent. This pattern of family worries is consistent with what we know of these areas, although the incidence of worries is much lower than we might expect. One of the most striking points of difference between the farm and the non-farm samples related to our indicators of family problems and family harmony. Every one of our indices showed considerably higher levels of family problems in the Drumheller area than in the other areas. In response to the question about family worries, less than half (48.9 per cent) of the Drumheller sample, in contrast to 77.1 per cent of the farm sample, said "nothing." The most frequently cited worries were health (15.2 per cent), children getting into trouble (13.0 per cent), and other problems (9.8 per cent).

Disagreements with children were mentioned by over one half (57.3 per cent) of the sample. Thirty per cent of the subjects described their disagreements as "not serious," 18 per cent described them as "somewhat serious," and nine per cent said they were "rather serious." The disagreements were most frequent (68 per cent), and most often rated "somewhat serious" (20.0 per cent) or "rather serious" (19.0 per cent) in the Innisfail area; followed by Niton, Dixonville, and least frequent (23.3 per cent with 1.8 per cent rated as "rather serious") in the Blueberry Mountain area. Table 3 contains a listing of the subjects of disagreement, by community. Subjects of disagreement mentioned most often were discipline (18.1 per cent), dating behavior (11.7 per cent), and school performance (6 per cent). A higher proportion of the Drumheller parents said that they had disagreements with their children than did the farm parents, the proportions being 66.0 per cent and 53.6 per cent. The incidence of "rather serious" disagreements among the former was more than twice as great (14.6 per cent) as among the latter (7.2 per cent). Issues involving dating and going steady were much more common in Drumheller than in the farming areas, followed

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 3

SUBJECTS OF DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN
IN WHITE SAMPLE FAMILIES, BY COMMUNITY

	Dating and Morals		Education	Chores	Discipline - Disobedience		Personal Habits (money, tidiness)			Marriage	Religion	Other	Total Sample	
	Nothing												No.	%
Dixonville	54.5%	12.2%	6.5%	3.3%	9.8%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.6%	123	100	
Blueberry	76.7	3.3	1.7	1.7	11.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	60	100	
Niton	31.3	7.1	8.1	11.1	18.2	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.2	99	100	
Innisfail	32.0	14.0	4.0	2.0	30.0	8.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.0	100	100	
Sum of Farm Samples	46.4	7.3	5.5	4.7	17.4	3.4	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.7	384	100	
Drumheller	34.0	16.0	7.4	3.1	19.8	6.2	0.0	1.9	1.9	11.7	162	100		
Total	42.7	11.7	6.0	4.2	18.1	4.2	0.7	0.5	0.5	11.7	546	100		

in order of frequency by disciplinary issues. Issues of personal development--habits regarding the spending of money, tidiness--were also mentioned frequently by Drumheller parents.

In response to the question, "What kinds of things do you and your husband often disagree about?" 30.5 per cent of the sample answered "nothing." This response was most frequently made in Blueberry (54.2 per cent) and Dixonville (51.9 per cent), and least often made in Innisfail (17.6 per cent) and in Niton (26.4 per cent). A listing of the subjects of disagreement, by community, is found in Table 4. Those most frequently mentioned were money (16.1 per cent), work (11.4 per cent), child rearing (9.4 per cent), and drinking practices (5.5 per cent). Work disagreements were mentioned with unusual frequency in Niton and Innisfail.

Husband-wife disagreements were more often mentioned by Drumheller residents than by those in any other area, the incidence being 83.1 per cent. Drinking problems were mentioned much more frequently by Drumheller residents (10.7 per cent), than they were by the farm sample members (3.2 per cent).

Interviewers were instructed to rate the amount of conflict they sensed during the course of the interview between parents and between parents and children. The rating categories used were: "great deal," "fair amount," "little bit," "almost none." There appeared to be slightly more conflict between parents than between parents and children since the interviewers sensed "almost none" in 56 per cent of cases between parents and children, and in 49 per cent between parents. Conflict between both parents and children and parents and parents was rated as "a great deal" or "a fair amount" in only 16.4 per cent of cases. Conflict between parents was most frequent in Drumheller (31.4 per cent "a great deal" or "a fair amount") and Innisfail (17.5 per cent), and least frequent in Blueberry (1.6 per cent) and Niton. Conflict between parents and children ranked by areas in the same order, the incidence of "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of conflict being 29.7 per cent in Drumheller, 29.4 per cent in Innisfail, and 1.6 per cent in both Blueberry and Dixonville.

Interviewers were also instructed to make an over-all rating of family discord as they sensed it, in terms of "severe discord," "moderate dis-

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 4

SUBJECTS OF DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN PARENTS IN WHITE SAMPLE, BY COMMUNITY

	Nothing	Money	Work	Bringing up Children	Alcohol	Everything	People, including relatives & jealousy	Other	Total Sample No.	%
Dixonville	51.9%	8.5%	9.3%	7.0%	3.1%	2.3%	1.6%	16.3%	129	100
Blueberry	54.2	11.9	10.2	5.1	3.4	1.7	0.0	13.6	59	100
Niton	26.4	18.2	19.1	10.0	1.8	1.8	0.9	21.8	110	100
Innisfail	17.6	7.8	14.7	13.7	4.9	7.8	5.9	27.5	102	100
Sum of Farm Samples	36.5	11.5	13.5	9.2	3.2	3.5	2.2	20.2	400	100
Drumheller	16.9	26.6	6.8	9.6	10.7	5.1	6.2	18.1	177	100
Total	30.5	16.1	11.4	9.4	5.5	4.0	3.5	19.6	577	100

cord," "slight discord," and "no discord." In 64.6 per cent of the cases, interviewers rated the farm families that they interviewed as lacking in discord, in 28.1 per cent of cases they indicated slight discord, in 6.0 per cent the rating was moderate discord, and in 1.5 per cent it was severe discord. The incidence of rated discord was highest in Innisfail, where 51.9 per cent of ratings were slight discord, and 13 per cent were moderate or severe. The incidence was lowest in Blueberry Mountain where 85.2 per cent of the ratings were no discord, 11.5 per cent were slight discord, and 3.3 per cent were moderate or severe. In Niton, 67.6 per cent of families were rated no discord, and in Dixonville the figure was 76.4 per cent.

The differences in the family discord rating by interviewers in the farm and the Drumheller areas are striking. "No discord" ratings were made in 64.4 per cent of the cases in the farm areas, but in only 28.4 per cent of the cases in Drumheller. Moderate or severe discord ratings were made 7.5 per cent of the time in the former but in 22.7 per cent of the cases in the latter.

In summarizing this section on family harmony, it is clear that our data do not show a relationship between discord and the relative poverty of the area. They do, however, suggest a relationship between both parent-child conflict, and parent-parent conflict, and "relative urbanization." The area in closest proximity to "town"--both to the small city and to the metropolis--is I. D. 42, and it showed the highest rates for both. The Innisfail area ranks second in terms of proximity, and it ranks second in conflicts. At the other extreme, the three poorer farming areas are all quite isolated, and all have very much lower conflict ratings. There is a light suggestion that conflict may be related to prosperity, since Dixonville, the wealthier of the three areas, has slightly higher conflict rates.

Occupational Aspirations for Children

In this section we shall present information on the occupational aspirations of parents for their children. Because some of the children of respondents had already left home and entered the world of work, we are able to give some indication of the occupational consequences of the start

in life which parents have given to their children. The information to be considered here, then, consists of (1) the median last grade completed by children no longer at school, (2) the parents' responses to the question, "What kind of work would you like your sons (daughters) to go into?" (3) the current occupations of mature sons and sons-in-law, and (4) their places of residence. Thus, there is in the information available some indication of the extent to which some of the respondents' children were able to reach their parents' aspirations for them, as a consequence of all of the various advantages and disadvantages in their backgrounds. The statistical information on which this section is based is presented in summary form in Table 5.

It should be emphasized first in evaluating this information, that the discussion is based on very incomplete data since only 28.4 families have sons who have left school and the figure for the daughters is the same. The information in the table shows that Innisfail, Niton and Dixonville have a considerably higher proportion of families with mature children than Blueberry and, to a lesser extent, Drumheller. Where a discussion is based on such incomplete returns it can only be tentative.

It is clear that sons dropped out of school at an earlier age than daughters. Only 17.5 per cent of the daughters in the entire sample had completed nine or less years of school, while the figure for sons was 38.0 per cent. In general, the grown children of respondents had dropped out earliest in Niton and Blueberry. Innisfail grown children had the highest grade level attainments, closely followed by Drumheller. It is quite clear that the grade level attainments of children in the more urbanized areas are higher than in the more isolated areas. Insofar as the poorer farming areas are more isolated, the children who grew up in poorer areas have lower grade level attainments than those in more wealthy areas. It appears also that children from more prosperous families in the more urbanized areas have slightly higher grade level attainments than children from the less prosperous families, on the basis of a comparison between Innisfail and Drumheller families, found in Table 5. Interpretation of these data is made difficult by the fact that a high proportion of the sample made general responses to the question, "What kind of work would you like your sons and daughters to go into? such as "anything

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 5
SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON ASPIRATIONS FOR, AND CURRENT
OCCUPATIONS OF CHILDREN OF WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Sample No.
Number of families with one or more sons out of school	33.3%	10.9%	38.6%	35.6%	31.4%	22.3%	28.4%	114
Number of families with one or more daughters out of school	31.2	15.2	28.6	35.6	28.8	27.7	28.4	114
Sons completing no more than 9 years of school	41.9	75.0	65.4	15.0	43.9	19.2	38.0	41
Daughters completing no more than 11 years of school	55.1	42.9	75.0	47.7	57.7	47.3	54.3	62
Mentioned specific white-collar occupations for sons	10.6	13.3	13.8	16.0	13.5	37.5	20.8	104
Mentioned skilled white-collar occupations for daughters	36.7	40.6	30.0	40.5	34.9	46.6	39.0	193
Mentioned generally "doing well", "high paying jobs", etc. as occupations for sons	10.5	15.1	20.8	14.9	15.2	26.3	18.6	93
Mentioned generally "doing well", "high paying jobs", etc. as occupations for daughters	18.8	11.9	26.7	21.0	20.1	20.4	20.2	101
Mentioned "anything he wants" as occupation for sons	47.6	52.8	25.7	19.5	52.8	17.8	29.8	149
Mentioned "anything she wants" as occupation for daughters	30.4	47.5	31.1	19.8	30.8	19.1	27.1	136
Mentioned farming as occupation for sons	24.6	18.9	34.7	46.0	31.9	4.6	23.6	118
Mentioned clerical, white-collar work as occupation for daughters	9.8	6.8	6.7	9.9	8.4	8.9	8.6	43
Have 70% or more of mature sons on farms	41.9	25.0	25.9	42.9	35.7	0.0	26.6	30
Have one or more daughters on farms	41.2	57.2	35.0	45.0	41.6	5.8	30.6	34
Have 80% or more of mature children remaining in same district	48.6	28.6	33.3	55.6	45.1	37.8	42.9	63
Have mature children who have left the province	26.3	57.1	23.3	29.6	28.8	20.0	26.2	39
Have one or more sons in cities	12.9	25.0	22.2	9.5	15.5	24.1	17.7	93
Have one or more daughters in cities	24.0	14.3	40.0	30.0	28.6	44.1	33.3	74
Occupation of subjects' sons and daughters' husbands is lower level than their fathers	57.7	83.4	65.2	69.5	65.4	28.0	56.3	58

they want to do" and "do well" or "a high paying job." We assumed that where children are told they can "do anything they want to," they will not develop as high aspirations as when they are told they are expected to "do well," etc. Accordingly, if we think of parental aspirations mentioning white-collar level occupations and "doing well" as high level expectations for their children, we see from the table that such expectations are held by a somewhat higher proportion of parents in the Innisfail and Drumheller areas, and a lower proportion in the Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain areas. Farming, as an occupational aspiration for sons, was mentioned in Innisfail by 46.0 per cent, in Niton by 34.7 per cent, in Dixonville by 24.6 per cent, in Blueberry by 18.9 per cent and by 4.6 per cent in Drumheller.

The data thus far shows that mature children from the areas where parents have the highest expectations for their children have the highest grade level attainments. Niton is somewhat the exception in that residents there mentioned rather high expectations for their children, but the grade level attainments of the latter were relatively low in comparison with the sample as a whole.

The data in Table 5 show that Innisfail and Dixonville subjects tend to have the highest proportion of sons and daughters on farms. This is somewhat in accord with the aspirations of parents since Innisfail and Dixonville ranked first and third in proportions wanting a farming occupation for their sons. Niton, which was second ranking in terms of parental wishes, in fact ranks a very low third. A relationship does exist between the parental wishes and the offspring choice of a farming occupation, but it far from perfect.

The other information in the table on the occupation of sons gives a very fragmentary picture. If we consider only non-farming occupations, we find that Innisfail sons are infrequently employed in unskilled positions, as we might expect, but we do not find them as often employed in white-collar positions as we would expect. The best we can say is that such data as are available do tend to support the thesis that sons from areas where parents have specific and high aspirations for them tend to live up to these expectations.

Since it often happens that occupational advancement necessitates leaving the home community and perhaps the home province, we may ask what proportions of the sons of the interview respondents have done one or the other. We would anticipate that sons from areas where parental aspirations were high would more often have gone to the city, and more often have left the province than sons from areas where aspirations were not so high. The data in the table fail to show any consistent pattern, however. Innisfail and Dixonville residents have the largest proportion of mature sons and daughters who are yet residing in the same district, the largest proportion who are farmers and farmers' wives, and the smallest proportion of sons who have gone to large cities. Mature sons and daughters from Niton, and sons from Blueberry have more frequently gone to large cities. Blueberry residents are unusual in having a high proportion of offspring who have left the province, and a high proportion of daughters on farms, but very few in large cities. A sizable proportion, 37.8 per cent, of the mature offspring of Drumheller subjects are remaining in the same district and a rather high proportion have gone to big cities. The proportion of Drumheller daughters going to cities is larger than the proportion of sons going; in fact it is the largest, 44.1 per cent, of any of the samples studied.

In summary, it appears that there are definite differences in the aspirations which subjects in the different areas have for their children. Furthermore, these aspirations appear to be consequential. Offspring from the high aspiration and wealthier areas complete more years of schooling than those from low aspiration and poorer areas. The aspirations of farmers in the wealthier areas that their sons will become farmers are more often fulfilled as are their aspirations for higher levels of employment by their sons. However, the data are too fragmentary to support more than these tentative generalizations.

Relationships between Annual Income and Home and Family Life Characteristics

In this section we shall summarize the information available on the relationships between annual income and home facilities, the family life, and the aspirations for children with indications of the degree of their fulfillment of these aspirations, for the farm and non-farm samples.

The Farm Sample

In Table 6 is found the proportions of each of the three income groups which have selected home facility characteristics. The data clearly show that the homes of subjects in the low income group are smaller, less well equipped, and farther removed from health, educational, and community facilities than the homes of high income group subjects. These points obviously need no discussion.

In Table 7 is found the proportions of each of the income groups which have certain family life characteristics. The data show that large families are slightly more common among high income than among low income groups. Moreover, more children have left home in the latter than in the former groups, so that the high income subjects have more children in their households than do the low income subjects. The result is that although the latter have smaller homes, the incidence of "overcrowding," defined as having more than one person per room in the house, is as common in the high as in the low income groups.

There were no differences in the numbers of children mentioned as ideal by high and low income groups. The latter more frequently said they would oppose the use of birth control techniques, and more frequently reported that they did not know where birth control information was obtainable.

One of the more surprising findings of this study is that all of the indices available tend consistently to imply a more harmonious and conflict-free family life among the low income families than among the high income families. The latter more frequently reported family problems that they were worried about--disagreements between parents and children, disagreements between the parents.

The relationship between family income and the harmony of family life is a somewhat ambiguous one. Low income families less frequently reported

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING RESPONSES
DESCRIBING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOME, BY INCOME GROUPS

INDICES	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Homes with four rooms or less	39.0%	24.6%	17.7%
Edwards' scores over 22	19.4	42.4	53.3
Edwards' scores under 19	52.4	32.2	20.0
Homes with central heating	21.4	46.6	56.7
Homes with telephone	39.8	55.9	50.0
Homes with power washer	87.3	93.2	90.0
Homes with inside bathroom	24.3	40.7	63.3
Homes with deep freeze	61.8	79.7	90.0
Families less than ten miles from doctor	11.6	23.5	48.4
Families less than ten miles from hospital	11.6	23.9	48.4
Families more than ten miles from elementary school	38.3	25.4	25.8
Families less than ten miles from high school	34.2	45.5	61.3
Families more than ten miles from general store	25.0	13.4	22.6
Families more than ten miles from provincial highway	39.2	25.4	25.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 7

PROPORTION OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES DESCRIBING FAMILY INTERACTION, BY INCOME GROUPS

INDICES	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Families with four or more children	41.2%	57.4%	55.5%
Ideal number of children is four or more	67.3	77.0	70.0
Four or more children in household	15.2	27.9	33.3
Homes will hold more than one person per room	42.0	40.4	39.3
Opposed to birth control	18.6	10.7	8.2
Does not know where birth control information is available	56.3	38.3	39.0
No family worries	78.4	82.1	67.9
No parent-child disagreements	55.2	39.1	33.3
Disagreements about dating	6.4	7.0	20.4
No parent-parent disagreements	37.5	37.2	41.4
Parent-parent disagreements about child rearing	8.2	6.2	15.5
Parent-parent disagreements about financial matters	13.0	11.5	6.9
Parents disagree about drinking practice	4.9	1.8	1.7
Parent-parent conflict rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	12.1	5.9	0.0
Parent-parent conflict rated "a little bit"	29.1	25.2	45.8
Parent-child conflict rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	8.9	7.7	21.4
Parent-child conflict rated "almost none"	68.5	70.9	50.0
Family discord rated "severe" or "moderate" by interviewers	8.9	3.4	3.4
Family discord rated "no discord" by interviewers	67.8	69.8	55.9

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

worrying about family problems and reported less parent-child disagreement. They reported more disagreements between parents, and they were more frequently rated as having a "great deal" or a "fair amount" of conflict between parents, and were more frequently rated as having "severe" or "moderate" family discord than subjects in high income groups. However, low income families were also more often rated as having "no discord" by interviewers. The latter were more often rated as having a "great deal" or a "fair amount" of conflict between parents and children. It would appear that in the higher income families there is more parental harmony, but more parent-child conflict, whereas in the low income families the pattern is just the opposite.

Table 8 contains the proportions of each of the three income groups which made selected responses to items relating to aspirations for children and their achievements. The data suggest that the aspirations of the higher income group members for their children are consequential, since they more often wanted their sons to go into farming and in fact more of their sons have gone into farming to date, in contrast to sons of the low income group. The low income group members more often than the high income group members wanted their sons to go into white-collar occupations, but of the three groups they have the lowest proportion of sons in white-collar occupations and the highest proportion in unskilled labor. Since the table shows that the sons of the low income group members drop out of school earlier than the sons of high income group members this is to be expected.

In summary, the data clearly show the following: (1) Low income farmers have smaller, less well-equipped homes than high income farmers, but since they have fewer children in the home their houses are not more often overcrowded than those of higher income group members. (2) The family life of the former is more often free of conflict than is the family life of the latter, but when there is conflict in the homes of the low income members it is likely to be more severe. (3) Conflict in low income families is more often between the parents, while in the high income homes it is more often between parents and children. (4) The aspirations of low income members for their children are comparatively higher than those of high income farmers since the latter more often wanted their sons to go into farming. The

aspirations of the latter are more often realized by their sons, while those of the former are less frequently realized, both in terms of the earlier school dropouts by their children and the high rate of employment in unskilled occupations by their sons.

The Non-Farm Sample

The proportions of each of the three non-farm income groups which have selected characteristics relating to the home, children and child bearing, family life, and the aspirations of parents for their children, and the extent to which the mature children have fulfilled these aspirations are found in Tables 8 through 10. The relationships found in these tables for the non-farm samples are somewhat different from those found for the farm samples.

The data in Table 9 show that the homes of low income subjects are not smaller but they are less well-equipped as revealed both by the Edwards' scores and by the non-possession of certain facilities, than the homes of high income subjects. The former group also have more children in the home than the latter, so that overcrowding in the sense of having more than one person per room in the house is more characteristic of the low income group members than the high income group members. This differential is likely to increase, since the latter group mentioned a higher number as the ideal number of children and since they were more often opposed to birth control procedures.

According to the figures in Table 10, the differences in harmony in family life were less distinct between the sub-samples of the non-farm sample than they were between the sub-samples of the farm sample. The high income group members less often said that they worried about family problems, but interviewers rated the conflict between parents, and between parents and children as higher in their homes than in the low income homes. It is noteworthy that conflict between parents was most frequently rated as "a great deal" or "a fair amount" in the middle income homes. Other studies have shown that it is in this group which can barely afford a "middle class" standard of living, which tries hardest to live up to middle class standards. Stresses of this kind could account for the high conflict and the high family discord ratings which were made on the middle income group.

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING RESPONSES
INDICATING ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
Aspire to farming for sons	27.2%	23.7%	45.3%
Aspire to skilled white-collar or business occupation for sons	17.2	12.9	7.5
Aspire to skilled white-collar occupation for daughters	17.1	13.3	23.5
Sons completed more than nine years of school	48.7	55.0	88.9
Daughters completed more than 11 years of school	50.0	36.4	62.5
No sons on farms	43.9	26.3	33.3
No daughters on farms	55.9	52.4	75.0
Sons engaged in white-collar employment	27.8	26.7	50.0
Sons engaged in unskilled labour	50.0	40.0	37.5
More than 60% of adult offspring left in the home district	24.0	8.3	36.4
Have sons in cities	14.6	15.8	0.0
Have daughters in cities	35.3	23.8	25.8
Have offspring who have left the province	70.6	83.3	63.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 9

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES DESCRIBING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOME, BY INCOME GROUPS

INDICES	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Homes with four rooms or less	44.1%	34.2%	39.1%
Edwards' scores over 22	25.7	39.5	46.9
Edwards' scores under 19	40.0	28.9	3.1
Homes with central heating	54.3	75.7	93.8
Homes with telephone	71.4	84.2	97.0
Homes with power washer	88.8	97.3	93.9
Homes with inside bathroom	17.6	23.7	40.6
Homes with deep freeze	37.1	37.8	45.5

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 10

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES DESCRIBING FAMILY INTERACTION, BY INCOME GROUPS

INDICES	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Families with four or more children	69.0%	30.0%	37.5%
Ideal number of children four or more	74.5	63.5	53.2
Four or more children in household	38.5	18.2	25.0
Homes with more than one person per room	38.2	23.7	21.9
Oppose birth control	19.6	19.4	10.0
Does not know where birth control information is available	42.9	41.9	34.9
No family worries	37.0	47.0	59.4
No parent-child disagreement	29.7	32.3	34.0
No dating disagreement	21.6	13.8	17.0
No parent-parent disagreement	16.2	20.0	14.3
Parent-parent disagreements about child rearing	13.5	7.2	11.1
Parent-parent disagreements about financial matters	16.2	39.1	15.9
Parent-parent disagreements about drinking practice	13.5	2.9	19.0
Parent-parent disagreements rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	21.4	40.8	28.6
Parent-parent disagreements rated "a little bit"	47.6	35.5	47.6
Parent-child disagreements rated "great deal" or "fair amount"	25.0	27.8	35.6
Parent-child disagreements rated "almost none"	36.4	26.4	30.5
Family discord rated "severe" or "moderate" by interviewers	17.8	28.2	20.3
Family discord rated "no discord" by interviewers	33.3	21.1	32.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

The data in Table 11 appear to suggest that the aspirations of the low income group members for their sons are at least as high and perhaps somewhat higher than those of the high income group. Moreover, on the basis of the very small number of mature offspring of the non-farm sample members, it appears that the aspirations of the low income group are often fulfilled. Their sons appear to complete at least as many years of schooling as those of the high income subjects, and they were somewhat more frequently employed in white-collar occupations. Similarly, a higher proportion of the adult offspring of the low income group had left I.D. 42, and a higher proportion had gone to big cities than was true of the offspring of the higher income subjects.

In summary, it is clear that the low income non-farm sample members have distinctly inferior home facilities to those of the higher income group members. It appears that there is somewhat more family discord in the family life of the latter. Finally, the vocational aspirations for children appear to be somewhat higher among the low income than the high income group members, and the limited evidence available suggests that these higher aspirations may be achieved with surprising frequency by their sons.

The Indian Ancestry Sample

Two of the most dramatic indications of the poverty of most of the Indian and Metis population of this province, as well as of the rest of Canada, are their housing, and their health conditions. In this chapter we shall describe the information which we have on the first of these, and in the next chapter we shall describe the second. In addition to the housing information we shall briefly describe the composition of the households which live in the houses, and shall give particular attention to the attitudes of subjects about the education of their children, and their aspirations for their children. A summary of the statistical information on which this discussion is based is found in Table 12.

Housing

The housing of the Indian and Metis families interviewed is dramatically inferior to that of the white sample. Eighty-three per cent of the former, as compared with eight and one half per cent of the latter, had

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 11

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING RESPONSES
INDICATING ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
General aspirations for sons to "do well," "make money"	17.9%	29.5%	28.9%
Aspire to skilled white-collar or business occupations for sons	43.6	32.8	37.8
Aspire to skilled white-collar occupations for daughters	28.6	22.6	24.1
Sons completed 12 or more years of school	90.0	80.0	8.0
Daughters completed more than nine years of school	42.9	57.1	62.5
Sons engaged in white-collar employment	30.8	23.1	16.7
Sons engaged in unskilled labour	53.8	53.8	50.0
More than 60% of adult offspring left in the home district	41.2	38.9	30.0
Have sons in cities	27.3	30.8	0.0
Have daughters in cities	46.2	46.2	37.5
Have offspring who have left the province	76.5	83.3	80.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VI - TABLE 12

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION OF THE INDIAN ANCESTRY SAMPLES
ON HOME AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

	No.	%	Total Number of Replies
Edwards' housing score of less than five	117	58.5	200
Number of people in household over six	127	57.9	219
Number of children in household eight or less	184	82.4	223
One person or less per room	34	16.7	203
Between 1.1 and 3.5 sons per room	121	59.6	203
More than 3.6 persons per room	48	23.6	203
Median number per household - seven			
Aspirations for sons - blue-collar work, mechanic, truckdriver, etc.	46	44.7	103
- white-collar work	24	23.3	103
- unskilled, seasonal work	18	17.5	103
Best place for grown children to live is the country	45	40.9	110
Best place for grown children to live is town	27	24.5	110
Boys should go to school through Grade 12	156	97.5	160
Girls should go to school through Grade 12	149	92.0	162
Boys should on no account leave school for a job	68	41.5	164
School training better than job training for boys	112	66.7	168
Completion of school necessary for girls	102	58.0	176
Respondents wishing for more education	128	97.7	131
People in the city and the country need the same education	128	86.5	148
Most important school course for boys - mathematics	29	34.1	85
Most important school course for girls - English	22	26.8	82
Prefer town schools	88	67.2	131
Children should go to school with white children	68	52.7	129
Metis do not have special problems in school	83	58.5	142
Children like school	108	79.4	136
School tougher for Metis than for whites	40	58.0	69
Respondents thought the residential Indian school was good	38	88.4	43
No complaints about Bluequills	26	59.1	44
Children who liked attending the residential school	25	55.6	45

houses which scored in the low range, under 11 points, on the Edwards' score. Sixteen per cent of the Indians and 58.4 per cent of the whites had homes scoring in the middle range of the Edwards' Scale, and one per cent of the Indians and 33 per cent of the white's homes scored in the high range. The distribution of scores obtained in this study for Metis and Indians is almost identical with the distribution obtained by Card for Indian ancestry people in I. D. 124 on the south shore of Lesser Slave Lake.⁴ He found that 75 per cent of the homes scored nine or less, 25 per cent scored between 10 and 19 and none scored over 19. In our Indian ancestry samples, 74.5 per cent scored nine or less, 24.5 scored between ten and 19, and one per cent scored over 19.

Size of Household

The median number of people in each household for the two Indian ancestry samples is seven. One-third of the households included no more than five people, one-third from six to nine, and one-third nine or more. The median number of children in each family under 21 years of age was five. One-fifth of the families had no more than two children and one-third had seven or more children.

The consequence of such large households was considerable overcrowding of homes. Only sixteen per cent of the homes had no more than one person per room, and the remaining 84 per cent of the homes were "overcrowded" by the usually accepted standard. Thirty-two per cent had between one and two persons per room 22 per cent had between two and three persons per room, and thirty per cent had more than three persons per room, including twelve per cent with more than five persons per room.

Such overcrowding staggers the imagination. If it is to be reduced it will have to be done through reduction of family size since it is not practical to anticipate building sufficiently large houses for people with the standard of living currently available to Indians. Furthermore, they could not afford to heat such large houses if they were built. No questions were included on the schedule used with Indian ancestry subjects concerning birth control because of the "touchy" nature of this question for Roman Catholics. A number of interviewers in Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake areas did informally

question people about birth control information and about attitudes toward the use of birth control procedures. They found in general that people had very little information about birth control possibilities, but they were usually very much interested in limiting the number of children.

Aspirations for Children

What kinds of positions does the sample desire for their children, and how prepared are they to encourage them to obtain the educational qualifications which are prerequisite for such positions? What kinds of education do they advocate, and for whom?

When asked what jobs they would like to see their sons take, 45 per cent mentioned skilled manual work, 23 per cent mentioned white-collar work, and 18 per cent mentioned crop farming or cattle raising. The hopes of most of them are that their children will stay on in the country after they are grown up, as we have seen, and only 19 per cent believe their children should go to the city where they do recognize that steady work is most easily available.

The parents in our samples were clearly aware that if their children are going to "achieve something" in life they must get as much education as possible. In response to the question, "How far in school should boys go?" and "How far should girls go?" 98 per cent said through grade twelve for boys, and 25 per cent said beyond grade twelve. For girls, 92 per cent said through grade twelve, and 25 per cent said beyond grade twelve. When asked if they felt that a boy should drop out of school if he was offered a job, 42 per cent gave an unqualified negative answer, 40 per cent gave qualified negative and 18 per cent gave qualified affirmative answers ("if the family needed him" or "if it was a very good job"). When asked whether they thought that job training or high school was more important for a boy, almost four times as many said high school as job training. In response to the question, "Do you think that high school is very important for a girl who is going to be a wife and mother?" 58 per cent said that it was important for her to complete high school, 24 per cent said that they felt that some high school was necessary, and only 18 per cent said that no high school was necessary for such girls. The value placed on education by subjects interviewed was clearly very high.

Ninety-eight per cent said that they wished they had obtained more education themselves; and 86 per cent said they felt country people needed as much education as city people.

Not only were the parents in the samples convinced of the importance of education, they had some ideas about the kinds of courses that their children should be taking. When asked which were the most important courses for boys and girls to take, the choices for the boys were mathematics, 34 per cent; vocational courses, 24.5 per cent; "everything," 22.4 per cent; and English, 11.8 per cent. For girls the choices were English, 27 per cent; "everything," 26 per cent, home economics courses, 19.5 per cent; and mathematics, 13.4 per cent.

Where should children go to school? There were three possible answers to that question; small country day schools, town schools, or residential schools. When asked to choose between country schools and town schools, two-thirds of the subjects interviewed in the Lac La Biche sample chose the latter. Fifty-three per cent said they felt that it was better for their children to go to school with white children and 33 per cent felt that segregation was better. Most subjects, 59 per cent of those responding, felt that integrated schools do not pose special problems for Metis. Only one out of four reported that their children had difficulties with their teachers, and eighty per cent reported that their children liked school. When asked whether they thought that school was "tougher" for Metis than for whites, they answered "yes" more than twice as often as they did "no."

Parents in the Saddle Lake sample have the option of having their children live in a hostel in town while they attend school. The members of the Saddle Lake sample were asked whether it was good to send children to the hostel. About ninety per cent responded "yes," although about forty per cent had complaints to make about some aspects of the way it was run. A large proportion had themselves attended a residential school and the majority of them reported that they liked it.

Summary

In this section we have described the homes, size of households, aspirations for children and attitudes toward education of the Indian ancestry subjects who were interviewed. In regard to homes we found inadequacy of facilities and furnishings which is without parallel among all but the smallest minority of members of the white sample. The households in which interviews were held were large, the median number of children under 21 years of age being five. As a consequence there is more severe overcrowding by white standards than among all but the smallest majority of the white sample.

The occupational aspirations reported by sample members for their sons were moderate with almost half mentioning semi-skilled or skilled manual occupations and one-quarter mentioning white-collar positions. The educational aspirations voiced by subjects for their offspring were in line with these occupational aspirations. Almost all subjects said that boys and girls should strive for a grade twelve education, and a high proportion continued to insist on this even when asked if a boy should stay in school even though he had a good job opportunity, and if a girl should go to high school even though she was only going to be a wife and mother. Likewise, most subjects were in favor of integrated schools even though they acknowledged that there were some problems with teachers under these circumstances, and that it was more difficult for the Metis children than it was for the white children.

It appears that the aspirations which most of the Indian ancestry subjects had for their sons are realistic in the sense of not being out of reach, and yet involve a definite improvement over the parents' situations. These aspirations are backed up by considerable, at least verbal, encouragement to remain in school. But lest this sound too optimistic, it should be emphasized that a very high proportion of Indian ancestry young people drop out of school shortly after their fifteenth birthdays, in large part because their backgrounds have not prepared them to achieve in schools that are, in virtually all respects, white oriented.

FOOTNOTES

¹Florence M. Edwards, A Scale for Rating Socio-Economic Levels in Rural Western Canada, unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1946.

²The list includes:

1. Construction: brick, stucco, painted frame, stained shingle.
2. One room or more per person.
3. Central heating system.
4. Electricity or mantle lamp.
5. Improved full or part basement.
6. Cistern.
7. Storm windows on some or all windows.
8. One or more clothes closets.
9. Flooring on all floors.
10. Telephone.
11. Power washing machine.
12. Bathroom.
13. Kitchen sink.
14. Separate dining room.
15. Linoleum on kitchen floor.
16. Living room floor finished, lino, rug, paint, wax, tile.
17. Living room wall finished, paper, paint, calcimine, plaster-board.
18. Woodwork painted or varnished.
19. Dining room table and buffet.
20. Chesterfield or lounge.
21. Easy chairs, one or more.
22. Bookcase or desk.
23. Books, ten or more, not children's.
24. Piano.
25. Pumping system, hand or better.
26. Magazine subscriptions (two).
27. Weeklies (three) or daily.

³B. Y. Card, making use of the unmodified Edwards' Scale, mentions a scoring range of 0-9 as a low range, 10-19 as a medium range, and 20-27 as a high range. We feel constrained to change these norms because of the changes made in the scale which we used, especially since television ownership is common, even in otherwise minimally equipped homes.

⁴B. Y. Card, Chapter 6, "Houses and Households in I. D. 124," in B. Y. Card, G. K. Hirabayashi, and C. L. French, The Metis in Alberta Society, multilithed by the University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1963, p. 232.



TOP : This is a typical source of drinking water for Metis in the
Lac La Biche area.

BOTTOM: Lack of a proper diet causes health problems for many people on
the Saddle Lake Reserve.

CHAPTER VII

FAMILY HEALTH

One of the most consistent and most tragic findings to come out of poverty studies is the burden of ill health that the poor have to bear. They more frequently suffer from sickness and disease. They more often see their children die prematurely. They die at an earlier age themselves than do the more affluent members of the society. To what extent do our interview data show the same thing among the white farm and non-farm, and the Indian and Metis samples that we interviewed? This chapter will provide an answer to this question. We shall again present the available information for the white samples, and the Indian and Metis samples.

The White Sample

We shall present information on problems of both physical and mental health among sample members. Our physical health information includes information of incidence, kind, duration and treatment of illness; incidence and cause of childhood death in the family; amount and insurance coverage of medical expenses; and extent of satisfaction with the medical services available. The mental health information includes respondents' scores on a psychoneuroticism and neuroticism scale that was included in the interview schedule, and their reports of the incidence of "nervous disorders" in their families. We shall present and discuss the available information in this order.

Physical Health Problems

In this section we shall discuss health problems of adults and children, the coverage of medical expenses and the respondents' satisfaction with the health services available. The statistical information on which the discussion is based is summarized in Table 1.

Information on the health of adults in the families interviewed is available in the form of health ratings, reports of disabilities and details of illnesses. Subjects were asked, "How would you describe the general condition of your health during the last three years--excellent, good, fair, poor, or very poor?" The incidence of reported poor health was low, only 9.4 per

CHAPTER VII - TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON PHYSICAL HEALTH, MEDICAL FINANCE
PROBLEMS AND DISSATISFACTION WITH FACILITIES FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample	Drumheller	Total Sample %	Sample No.
Health rated "excellent" or "good"	64.8%	71.9%	49.1%	71.6%	63.4%	58.6%	61.8%	408
Reported no health problems	66.7	67.6	55.1	61.8	62.7	65.0	63.4	413
Respondent was ill within last year	20.4	27.5	24.6	20.4	22.6	25.3	23.4	150
No illness reported in household during last year	67.1	44.7	37.7	34.5	47.9	58.7	51.6	188
Half or more of all householders ill during last year	6.3	26.3	4.9	20.7	12.6	7.1	10.7	39
Male family head was ill during last year	16.1	32.6	30.2	17.7	25.2	19.6	23.2	87
Female family head was ill during last year	12.4	13.9	28.6	34.5	21.9	20.3	21.3	80
Average duration of illnesses in family less than one week	37.9	33.3	23.7	13.2	25.2	19.1	23.6	41
Eighty per cent or more of family attended by M.D.	64.7	50.0	84.2	50.0	64.1	78.4	68.2	122
Families reporting an accident in the family during last year	14.6	22.5	21.7	17.2	18.3	3.1	13.0	48
Families reporting some childhood illness	23.5	40.6	17.6	43.5	30.6	17.4	25.1	73
Families reporting one or more infant and child deaths	27.3	20.0	33.3	18.0	25.6	19.0	23.5	137
Families without any form of medical insurance	57.2	35.2	26.2	22.7	36.7	16.0	30.2	198
No medical insurance because of the cost	30.7	46.7	51.4	37.0	38.3	18.2	35.2	75
Families paying more than \$100 in medical bills last year	27.3	25.1	16.6	31.1	24.2	28.8	25.2	148
Families which had difficulty paying medical bills last year	9.7	15.9	18.7	2.9	11.6	19.4	13.4	55
Families which made complaints about doctors	15.7	12.5	44.3	15.8	23.8	42.9	30.6	96
Families which made complaints about hospitals	8.4	24.4	23.8	10.7	16.3	7.9	13.5	50

cent of respondents rating their health in the last two categories. Most (45.1 per cent) responded "good," while 18.3 per cent said "excellent." "Good" and "excellent" health was most often reported in Blueberry Mountain and Innisfail, by 72 per cent in both cases. It was reported by 65 per cent in Dixonville, but by only 49 per cent in Niton. "Poor" or "very poor" health was reported most often by Blueberry Mountain subjects (12.7 per cent), and least often by those in Innisfail (6.4 per cent). This is remarkable because the former had the highest proportion and the latter the lowest proportion of younger subjects, and poor health is more commonly found among older people. We suspect that the reporting of "poor" or "very poor" health in Blueberry is related to overwork among subjects getting started homesteading in that area. The residents of I.D. 42 rated their own health lower than did the farm sample. Ten and one-half per cent of the former in contrast to 18.3 per cent of the latter rated their health as "excellent" and 11.9 per cent as compared with 9.4 per cent rated it "poor" or "very poor."

Subjects were asked, "Do you now have any health problems which interfere with your activity in your daily life?" and their responses were recorded so as to differentiate between those with problems which do interfere, and those with problems which do not. Almost two-thirds, 63.4 per cent, reported no problems at all; 16.4 per cent reported problems which do not interfere with activity; and 20.9 per cent reported problems which do interfere. The most commonly mentioned sources of interference were skeletal conditions (back, feet, arthritis) mentioned by 7.4 per cent, internal conditions (cancer, stomach trouble, diabetes) mentioned by 3.8 per cent, and heart trouble mentioned by 3.8 per cent. The two Peace River areas reported no problems (in 67 per cent of the cases) while Innisfail (62 per cent) and Niton (55 per cent) least often reported no problems.

The reports of the non-farm sample were very similar to those of the farm sample. About the same proportions, 65 per cent and 63 per cent, reported no problems at all. The same proportions of both samples, 20.9 per cent, reported having health problems which interfered with their daily activities.

In response to the question, "How long ago did you last suffer from a major illness or incapacitating health condition?" around 30.6 per cent said "never", 23.4 per cent said that they had within the last year, and 45.2 per cent said within the last five years. Differences between areas were slight, but Blueberry Mountain subjects most often reported an illness during the last year (27.5 per cent) and Innisfail and Dixonville both reported the lowest incidence (20.4 per cent). There were few differences between the farm and non-farm samples in the proportion reporting that they were never sick--33.8 per cent of the latter and 29.1 per cent of the former--and those reporting that they were sick during the last year--25.3 per cent of the non-farm and 22.6 per cent of the farm samples.

One adult in the family, usually the mother, was asked, "Have you, or any member of your family who is living with you, had any illnesses, operations, or accidents during the last year?" If the answer was "yes," information was collected on who was affected, type of ailment, duration of ailment and method of treatment. Table I summarizes information on the number of ailments per family, per cent of householders affected, ailments among adults, mean duration of ailments per family and per cent of all family ailments involving contact with a medical doctor or specialist, by farming area.

Before discussing the information in that table, a word is in order about the data on which it is based. Preliminary inspection of the health data showed that the incidence of reported disease was remarkably low. For example, over half, 51.6 per cent, of the 375 family groups for whom information was available reported that they had had no "illnesses, operations, or accidents" during the previous year. Discussion with the interviewers revealed that the respondents were certainly not reporting the full incidence of illness. Two kinds of illness were usually not reported. First, a non-serious childhood disease was not reported if only a single child was affected. If all the children of the family were down with it at the same time, it was remembered and reported. Second, most illnesses, even if they involved the patient's staying in bed, were reported only if the patient was attended by a physician.

As a result of these response tendencies we must emphasize that our data definitely under-reported the actual illnesses. There is no reason, however, to believe that subjects differed in ways they reported illness, by area. We proceed to our analysis, emphasizing only that it is the more serious illnesses that we are able to report.

Table 1 shows that no ailments among farm family members were reported in 47.9 per cent of the farm families, one ailment was reported in 29.8 per cent and two or more ailments were reported in 22.4 per cent. No ailments were most frequently reported in Dixonville (67.1 per cent) and least frequently reported in Innisfail (34.5 per cent) and Niton (37.7 per cent.) The incidence of illness among householders is similar. Some 47.9 per cent report none at all; in 28.2 per cent fewer than two-fifths of household members were afflicted, and for the same proportion more than two-fifths of household members were affected. Again, the rate was lowest in Dixonville and highest in Innisfail and Niton. The incidence of sickness among more than half of family members was unusually high in Blueberry Mountain and Innisfail. Three-fourths of the male family heads and 78 per cent of the female family heads were not affected by illness in the farm sample. The high and low incidence communities are the same as shown above. However, the Blueberry area is remarkable because the incidence of masculine illness was considerably higher (32.6 per cent) than of female illness (13.9 per cent). It would appear from the figures in Table 1 that the incidence of illness among the non-farm is less than among the farm samples. One of the measures, however, gives reason for pausing. The table shows a much higher incidence of contacts with medical doctors in the Drumheller sample than for the farm sample. Some 78.4 per cent of the former in contrast to 64.1 per cent of the latter fell into the category of contacts with doctors in 80 per cent or more of the reported illnesses. It is likely that the much closer access of the non-farm sample to medical personnel leads the sample members to consult them more often than do the more isolated farm subjects. Alternatively, it is possible that the Drumheller sample was reporting only illnesses which were more serious than those reported by the farm sample.

In any case, all of the other illness indices in Table 2 show less illness among the non-farm than among the farm subjects. No ailments in the

CHAPTER VII - TABLE 2

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF MENTAL HEALTH INDICES FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm Sample	Drumheller	Total Sample %	Total Sample No.
Respondents scoring in low range on psychophysiological symptoms score*	37.2%	30.0%	28.0%	39.8%	34.1%	38.9%	35.6%	233
Respondents scoring in high range on psychophysiological symptoms score	12.4	17.1	18.7	10.2	14.2	11.4	13.3	87
Respondents scoring in low, 6 - 9 range on neuroticism scale	52.1	35.7	39.8	44.4	44.1	31.4	40.0	260
Respondents scoring in high, 13 - 18 range on neuroticism scale	19.2	25.7	24.6	28.3	23.6	34.8	27.2	177
Families reporting a nervous breakdown in their families	0.0	6.0	12.9	7.4	4.8	1.6	3.7	14

* Our scoring procedure differed slightly from Jackson's, hence the difference in the proportions in the low score group.

family were reported by 58.7 per cent of the former and by 47.9 per cent of the latter. No more than one-fifth of householders were affected in 36.5 per cent of the homes of the former and in 21.3 per cent of the homes of the latter. Male family heads escaped illness in 80.4 per cent of cases among the former and in 74.8 per cent among the latter, and for female family heads these figures were 79.7 and 78.1 per cent.

The data in the table show that in farm families where there was sickness, the average duration was a week or less in 25.2 per cent of cases, two or three weeks in 26.8 per cent of cases, from four to nine weeks in 22.8 per cent of cases and nine or more weeks or chronic cases in 25.2 per cent of cases. Mean durations were shortest in Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain, and longest in Innisfail. Data for the Drumheller sample show a very high rate of "chronic" and nine-or-more-week durations--42.0 per cent as compared with 29.9 per cent for the farm sample. This might support the suggestion that only the more serious illnesses were reported by this sample.

As would be expected in view of the narrow interpretation respondents placed on the term "illness," the incidence of attendance by a physician or specialist was heavy. For the total farm sample, in almost two-thirds of the households (64.1 per cent) more than 80.0 per cent of reported illnesses resulted in contact with a physician. Seventeen per cent of families which did report illness reported no contact with physicians at all, and 19 per cent reported such contact for between ten and 80 per cent of reported illnesses. There were wide differences between communities. In Blueberry Mountain, where subjects were most isolated from medical facilities, but also in Innisfail, where subjects were least isolated, subjects least often (50.0 per cent) reported that doctors attended more than 80 per cent of reported illnesses. In Niton this incidence was reported for 84.2 per cent of illnesses. We had noted already that 78.4 per cent of Drumheller residents reported seeing doctors for 80 per cent or more of family illnesses.

A total of 57 accidents were reported by members of 44 households in the farm sample, an accident rate of 18.3 per cent. The rate was highest in Blueberry Mountain (22.5 per cent) and in Niton (21.7 per cent), and low-

est in Innisfail (17.2 per cent) and in Dixonville (14.6 per cent). The accident rate in Drumheller was lowest of all, 3.1 per cent.

Information on health problems among children includes the incidence of illness among children in the family, and the incidence of death of a child under the age of twelve, expressed as percentage of total children in the family. The incidence of reported offspring illness in the farm sample is low, 30.6 per cent. Some illness among children was most frequently reported in Innisfail (43.5 per cent) and in Blueberry Mountain (40.6 per cent). It was least often reported in Dixonville (23.5 per cent) and Niton (17.6 per cent).

Death of a child under the age of twelve was reported by 26 per cent of the farm families interviewed. The highest rates were reported in the Niton area (33.3 per cent) and the Dixonville area (27.3 per cent). The lowest rates were reported in the Innisfail and Blueberry areas where the rates were 18 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. Fifteen per cent of the farm families reported that one-fifth or more of their children had died before the age of twelve. Again, this was more frequent in Dixonville and Niton where the rates were 20.8 and 16.2 per cent, than in Blueberry and Innisfail where the rates were 8.3 and 12.0 per cent respectively. The reported incidence of illness was lower among non-farm than among farm children. Illness among the former was reported by only 17.4 per cent of families in contrast to 30.6 per cent among the latter. This again leads us to suspect more under-reporting of illness among the Drumheller respondents. However, the child death rate data also show a differential in favor of the Drumheller area. The proportion of families in which a child had died by age twelve was 19.0 per cent in Drumheller, and 25.6 per cent among farm subjects. One-fifth or more of the children had died in 12.3 per cent of the former families, and in 15.2 per cent of the latter families.

In the absence of adequate province-wide or nation-wide norms with which to compare the incidence figures which have been reported, it is not possible to make a summary statement which would indicate whether health problems were unusually frequent or infrequent in the samples studied. However, it is possible to make some comparative statements about the various areas studied. If we score the areas by counting the number of times it

stands first or second on the twelve illness indices which we have discussed, we find that Niton was highest, or next to highest on eight of the twelve, Innisfail on six of the twelve, Blueberry on five, Drumheller on three, and Dixonville on three. Perhaps we are justified in eliminating Innisfail from consideration since, as we have noted earlier, a much higher proportion of more elderly respondents live in that area. It would then appear that the two areas which are the poorest, Niton and Blueberry, have the highest incidences of illness according to the data we obtained. The priority of Niton is beyond question. Thus it appears that the health in an area is related to the prosperity of the residents. That this relationship is not the result of the inaccessibility of health facilities in poor areas, is shown by the fact that the Niton area has close access to hospital facilities.

The Financial Burden of Illness

One source of considerable worry in the event of illness in the family is the high costs that may be incurred for drugs, for the services of specialists, for hospitalization, expensive treatments, etc. It is possible to anticipate these costs through buying health insurance. In Alberta this is made easy through the Medical Service Incorporated Plan for which provincial subsidies are available for low income families. Only about 73.0 per cent of the population of this province are covered under MSI or other medical insurance plans so one of the interests in the present study was to discover to what extent the costs of medical care were burdensome to people in the study areas. Accordingly, we asked the sample members if they belonged to MSI, Blue Cross, or some other prepaid medical expense coverage plan. If they did not they were asked, "How does it happen that you have never taken out medical expense coverage?" Finally we asked them, "How much did your medical bills (not covered by insurance) add up to last year? How did you handle these bills?"

Among members of the farm sample only 42.7 per cent were covered by MSI, and an additional 20.6 per cent were covered by other plans. Thirty-seven per cent had no coverage at all. The proportion not covered at all was highest in Dixonville where it was 57.2 per cent, and in Blueberry Mountain where it was 35.2 per cent. It was lowest in Innisfail, but even here more than one-fifth, 22.7 per cent, were not covered. In Niton, 26.2 per cent of

subjects were not covered.

The most frequent reason given for not having medical insurance coverage was the financial burden, which was mentioned by 38.3 per cent. Twenty-one of the 180 subjects who did not have coverage said that they had applied but the policy was not in force yet. Nineteen per cent said that the policy had lapsed and they had never bothered to renew it; 14 per cent said that they or their spouses were against health insurance; and 13 per cent said they felt that it was not necessary. Financial burden was most often given as a reason in Niton and in Blueberry Mountain by 51 per cent and 47 per cent of subjects. In Innisfail the figure was 37 per cent and in Dixonville it was 31 per cent.

Are there any differences in the financial burdens which illness imposes on the farm and non-farm samples? The data show that a considerably larger proportion of the former group had no medical insurance coverages, whereas for the non-farm group it was 16.0 per cent. Of the 33 members in the latter group who had no coverage, 27 per cent said that they did not because they had never bothered, 24 per cent said that they felt it was unnecessary, 15 per cent said that they had applied but were not yet covered, and the same proportion said that they were opposed to medical insurance. Only 18 per cent, in contrast to 38 per cent on the non-insured farm group, gave a financial reason for not being covered.

In response to the question. "How much did your medical bills add up to last year?" 55.5 per cent reported \$50 or less. Twenty-eight per cent reported bills of between \$50 and \$150, and 17 per cent reported bills of over \$150. Bills of over \$100 were most often reported in Innisfail (31 per cent) and in Dixonville (27 per cent), and least often reported in Blueberry Mountain (25 per cent) and Niton (17 per cent). To the question, "How did you handle these bills?" 88 per cent of the sample answered that they had the money when the bill came and were able to pay it. The remaining 12 per cent had difficulty which they solved by postponing payments or obtaining loans. People had difficulty paying bills most often in the Niton area (19 per cent) and the Blueberry Mountain area (16 per cent) and least often in the Dixonville area (10 per cent) and the Innisfail area (3 per cent).

The non-farm sample members had slightly heavier medical bills to pay out of their own pocket than did the farm sample members. About the same proportion, 55 per cent of both groups, paid under \$50, but 22 per cent of the former, in contrast to 17 per cent of the latter, had bills over \$150. Eight of the twelve subjects in the sample who had bills over \$400 were in Drumheller. The result was that a higher proportion of this group, 19.4 per cent, had difficulty paying their bills in contrast to 11.6 per cent of the farm sample, despite the fact that the cash income of the Drumheller sample was significantly higher than that of the farm sample.

The data show that the incidence of non-insurance of sample members is surprisingly high. The two poorest areas, Niton and Blueberry, fall in the middle of the range in terms of frequency of carrying medical insurance. The data show that the heaviest bills are paid in the areas with the highest reported incomes, Innisfail and Drumheller. They further show that although families in the Niton and Blueberry areas least frequently reported medical bills of over \$100 for the year, they frequently reported having difficulty in paying medical bills. The most frequent difficulty was reported by Drumheller families, despite their higher cash incomes. It seems justifiable to say that although the absolute burden of medical expenses falls more heavily on the wealthier areas of the sample, the relative burden, according to subjects' reports, falls most heavily on families in the poorer areas.

Only 16.3 per cent of the total farm sample had complaints to make about the hospitals in their area. The most frequent complaints included "small and overcrowded," mentioned eight times; "insufficient staff," mentioned eight times; lack of proper equipment and supplies, mentioned seven times; "poor management," five times; and uncongenial and uncaring nurses, four times. There were significant differences by area: in Blueberry Mountain and Niton complaints were made by 24 per cent of all respondents, while in Innisfail the complaint rate was 11 per cent and in Dixonville it was eight per cent.

Do the large and numerous medical facilities conveniently available in the Drumheller area cause the people in this area to be better satisfied with the services available than the farm subjects? The answer is yes and no. Complaints against doctors were made more often by the non-farm sub-

jects than by the farm subjects, the proportion complaining being 42.9 and 23.8 per cent. Complaints about hospitals were made somewhat more frequently by the latter (16.3 per cent) than by the former (7.9 per cent). Complaints against doctors included the inadequate supply of doctors, 11.6 per cent; specific complaints about performance, ability or knowledge, 10.7 per cent; general complaints about performance, ability and knowledge, eight per cent; and the indifference of doctors, eight per cent. The ten subjects in the Drumheller sample who complained about hospitals criticized overcrowding, insufficient staff, poor food, and the condition of the buildings as "dirty and old."

Summary

In summary, the data presented in this section on physical health suggest quite clearly that there are important differences in the health of subjects in the different areas studied. The area which shows up most poorly is the Niton area. Here the incidences of both adult and childhood disease were highest, the largest numbers of people reported having difficulty paying their medical bills, and there were the most frequent complaints about doctors and hospitals. In terms of health, as in some of the other respects that we have considered in this study, Niton appears to be one of the most disadvantaged of areas.

Blueberry also shows up in our data as a health problem area. The incidences of household illness, of father illness, child illness and accidents in this area were all high. More than one-third of the families do not have medical insurance of any kind and many who do not have it feel they cannot afford to buy it. Although the medical bills in this area are not large, about one-sixth of the families report having difficulty paying them. Complaints about doctors are few, but complaints about the hospitals available are numerous.

Dixonville and Drumheller appear to have the fewest health problems, according to our data. However, the former has the highest proportion of families without any medical insurance of any area studied and families in the latter area, although rather heavily insured, reported the heaviest medical bills of any of the poorer areas. Almost one out of five families in Drumheller reported difficulties in paying their bills.

Thus our data show that a variety of health problems are disproportionately common in the poorer areas, and that no areas appear to be problem free.

Mental Health in the White Sample

Included in the interview schedule were three sets of questions designed to get some insight into the mental health of the respondent and his fellow family members. Two were scales of items designed to give a measure of emotional disturbance. The first consisted of fourteen items designed to measure the number and severity of psychophysiological symptoms experienced by any individual. The items were selected from a pool of items which have been used by Gurin in a nation wide American study,¹ in the Stirling County study in Eastern Canada,² and in the Midtown Manhattan Study of mental illness.³ In the Stirling County study each of these questions discriminated at the one per cent level of significance between a number of community subgroups and a group of neurotic patients. A number of questions were also used from the American World War II Neuropsychiatric Screening Adjunct.⁴ The items deal with a variety of physiological symptoms which often have psychological determinants. Sample items include: "Have you ever had spells of dizziness? Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you? Are you sometimes bothered by your heart beating hard?" These symptoms are to be interpreted as signs of strain within the subject of which he is apparently not able to relieve himself through "acting out" or otherwise "getting it off his chest."

The psychophysiological symptom level score was obtained for each person by merely summing his responses to each of the symptom items according to the following key: often--3, sometimes--2, and never--1.

Jackson published norms on a sample of 1673 urban household heads and their wives based upon sixteen symptom items which include the fourteen items used in the present study.⁵ By an appropriate conversion formula it is possible to convert our scores into the equivalent of his scores, and so to compare the distributions of our scores with his. Following this procedure, we found that 25.6 per cent of the total white sample interviewed in this study in comparison with 25.7 per cent of Jackson's sample, fell into the low symp-

tom category, with scores ranging from 61 to 64 according to his scoring procedure. Fifty-four per cent of Jackson's sample and 51.1 per cent of our sample fell into the moderate symptom category, scoring 51 to 60; and 19.8 per cent of his sample compared to 23.3 per cent of our sample fell in the high symptom category, scoring from 16 to 50. This degree of comparability in the two distributions gives a basis for confidence in these symptom level scores. It should of course be noted that Jackson studied an urban sample while ours is a predominantly rural sample.

The second scale of items consists of six items from the short form of the Neuroticism Scale from the Maudsley Personality Inventory. According to its author, neuroticism "refers to the general emotional liability of a person, his emotional over-responsiveness, and his liability to neurotic breakdown under stress."⁶ Sample items include: "Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any particular reason? Does your mind often wander when you are trying to concentrate?" Subjects responded to these items "yes" or "no," or "uncertain," and these were scored "yes"--3, "uncertain"--2, "no"--1. These items deal with the subject's tendency to be neurotically preoccupied with the past and so given to guilt feelings, depressions, etc. because he is unable to forgive himself for past mistakes. Decisions and responsibilities in the present thus threatened to overwhelm him because of the self-hatred which fear of new failures arouses in him.

The mean score obtained for the total white sample was 7.12. This compares with a mean of 4.80 for a sample of 300 native-born Canadians collected in Edmonton and on farms within a radius of forty miles around Red Deer, a mean of 4.18 for a sample of 400 first-generation Italian immigrants in Edmonton, and a mean of 4.97 for a sample of 766 first and second generation Ukrainian immigrants in Edmonton and the Ukrainian block settlement areas to the north and east of the city. Eysenck reports a mean neuroticism score on his short scale of 6.15 for a quota sample of 1,600 normal English subjects. The implication of this series of comparisons appears definitely to be that the members of the study samples scored somewhat above the mean of many normal groups which have been tested.⁷

The third indication of mental health available in this study was subjects' responses to the question, "Has anyone (in your family) had a nervous

breakdown, or trouble with 'nerves'?" We shall discuss the pattern of data of each of these indications of mental health in turn. The statistical data on which our discussion is based is found in Table 2.

Of the total farm population, and using our scoring procedure such a high score is associated with a high psychophysiological symptom level, 34.1 per cent scored in the 14 to 17 range, 35.4 scored in the 18 to 21 range, 16.3 per cent in the 22 to 24 range and 14.2 per cent scored above 24. The highest proportion of respondents scoring in the low 14 to 17 range was found in Innisfail (39.8 per cent) and Dixonville (37.2 per cent). The lowest proportions in the low score range were found in Niton (28.0 per cent) and in Blueberry (30.0 per cent). Correspondingly, the proportion scoring above 24 were 18.7 per cent in Niton, 17.1 in Blueberry Mountain, 12.4 in Dixonville, and 10.2 in Innisfail. Residents in Niton and Blueberry, the two poorer areas studied, clearly show up as high symptom level score areas, in contrast to the other two farm areas.

The Dixonville respondents clearly scored low on this measure, as the data in Table 2 show. Thirty-nine per cent of the non-farm respondents fell in the lowest score range and 14.2 per cent fell in the high score range.

On the neuroticism scale, 44.1 per cent of the farm sample scored in the six to nine low range, 32.3 per cent scored in the ten to twelve range, and 23.6 per cent scored in the thirteen to eighteen high range. The pattern of scores by community is largely similar to the psychophysiological symptom level score pattern. In both cases, Dixonville and Innisfail were in the two low scoring groups with 52.1 and 44.4 per cent respectively, scoring nine or less. Niton and Blueberry Mountain were the two high scoring groups with 39.8 and 35.7 per cent respectively, scoring nine or less. For the neuroticism scores, in contrast to the symptom level scores, however, Dixonville and Innisfail and Niton and Blueberry Mountain changed rank order. The pattern is further complicated by the fact that if we consider only the very high scores, 15 to 18, Innisfail has the highest proportion in this category (15.1 per cent) and Blueberry Mountain has the next to the lowest proportion (8.5 per cent) with Dixonville the lowest of all (6.3 per cent). This suggests that there is an unusually large minority in the Innisfail area who are neurotically self-hating and guilt preoccupied, and that although many in the Blueberry

Mountain area score in the middle score range, an unusually low percentage score in the high score range.

The non-farm sample showed a few differences from the farm sample in the psychophysiological symptoms level scores, but it showed striking differences on the neuroticism score. On the symptoms level scores, 70.7 per cent of the non-farm sample scored under 21 as compared with 69.5 per cent of the farm sample. On the neuroticism scores, 34.8 per cent of the Drumheller sample scored in the high range above 13 points, as compared with 23.6 per cent of the farm sample. About 31 per cent of the former fell in the low range under ten points, as compared with 44.1 per cent of the farm sample.

Although only twelve nervous breakdown cases were reported for the entire farm sample--surely an under-reporting according to other studies--the distribution of these cases does substantiate the pattern of the symptom level and the neuroticism scores. Eight of the nervous breakdown cases were reported by Niton residents and the other four were reported by Innisfail residents. We have seen that the Niton area residents have consistently scored high on the mental (ill) health indices. In the case of Innisfail, two points should be made. First, the Innisfail sample was the oldest of the five, thus a higher incidence of nervous breakdown is to be expected because of the stresses of advancing age. Second, it will be recalled that most Innisfail residents had low mental ill health scores but a substantial group had very high neuroticism scores. That the incidence of family disharmony was high in this area is also relevant.

Only two nervous breakdowns were reported in Drumheller. The rate is so low that little can be inferred from these data.

Summary

The data reported in this chapter tend to substantiate the pattern that has emerged from earlier chapters. The Niton and the Blueberry Mountain areas stand out as distinctly disadvantaged areas from both a physical and a mental health perspective. We have noted in the summary at the end of the physical health section of this chapter that both areas reported illness incidences for both adults and children which were higher than for other areas.

We noted that both areas more frequently report that medical bills cause financial hardship, despite the fact that reported bills are low in this area in contrast to other areas, and that complaints about medical facilities are more frequent. In this section on mental health we have seen that in contrast with the other farm study areas, Niton and Blueberry tended to score unusually high on both the psychophysiological symptoms level score and the neuroticism score, and Niton subjects reported an unusually high level of "nervous breakdowns" in their families.

I. D. 42 presents a somewhat ambiguous health picture. In general, this did not show up as a problem area in terms of physical health, except that a high proportion of respondents reported that they had been ill during the past year, and there was a high incidence of long duration and chronic diseases. The non-farm respondents--more frequently than any other group--reported difficulty in paying medical bills, despite the fact that they more frequently were covered by medical insurance than any other group. The data which we have just reviewed shows that the neuroticism scores of these subjects are unusually high.

We turn in the next section of this chapter to a brief consideration of the health situations of the adequate and the inadequate income components of the farm and non-farm samples.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Physical and Mental Health

In this section we shall briefly review the available evidence on differences in the physical and mental health between the three income categories of the farm and the non-farm samples.

The Farm Sample

In Table 3 is found the proportion of each of the three income groups which have selected characteristics relating to physical and mental health. The high income farm families rather clearly enjoy better health than do the low income families. The latter more often reported their health as only "fair," "poor" or "very poor," having health problems which interfered with daily activity, illness of the wife during the previous year, and more infant and childhood deaths than did the high income farm families. One explanation for the more frequent childhood illnesses appears to be that these fami-

CHAPTER VII - TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF SUBJECTS FROM THREE INCOME GROUPS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES TO PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH INDICES

FARM SAMPLE

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Health rating "fair," "poor," or "very poor"	40.6%	36.8%	22.9%
Reports no health problems	60.7	60.0	73.3
Reports having health problems which interfere with daily action	23.7	22.4	8.3
Respondent ill during last year	19.5	26.4	23.7
No illness report in household previous year	47.8	36.8	51.7
Wives ill during previous year	19.3	36.5	9.7
Husbands ill during previous year	23.8	27.0	25.8
Illnesses lasting one week or less	15.8	31.4	35.7
Illnesses lasting nine weeks or more	35.1	20.0	14.3
Cases of illness which were treated by M.D.	83.7	81.1	81.3
Families reporting one or more accidents during previous year	13.8	23.8	16.1
Children ill during previous year	21.6	35.1	32.0
Families reporting one or more child deaths	19.6	31.7	32.1
Has no health insurance	42.1	28.6	32.8
Financial reasons given for having no health insurance	44.0	45.5	52.9
Reports medical bills over \$150 last year	16.2	17.2	27.5
Not able to pay bills immediately	14.7	11.7	9.1
Made a complaint about doctors in area	20.9	23.5	20.8
Made a complaint about hospitals in area	8.4	10.2	3.3
Low psychophysiological symptoms level scores (under 18)	34.8	34.9	36.2
High psychophysiological symptoms level scores (over 21)	30.9	27.8	29.3
Medium to high neuroticism scores (ten or more)	54.8	49.6	58.9
Families reporting a nervous breakdown among family members	5.8	7.9	3.2

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

lies had more children in the home, thus more potential exposures to childhood illnesses. The explanation for the more frequent childhood mortality may be in part the greater number of children, since the risk increases with the higher order of birth, and the greater age of the parents in the high income group, since dramatic reductions in the incidence of infant mortality in Alberta have taken place during the last one or two decades.⁸

The data in the table show that the low income families less often have any form of health insurance than the high income families. Although the medical bills which they had to pay out of their own pockets were lower than the bills were for the latter group, they were slightly more often not able to pay their bills immediately.

There were no differences between income groups in frequency of complaints about doctors. A slightly higher proportion of low and medium income families than high income families complained about hospitals in their areas.

None of the three mental health indices which were used in this study show any differentials between the high, medium and low income farm families.

The Non-Farm Sample

In Table 4 are found the proportions of each of the three non-farm income groups which have selected characteristics relating to physical and mental health. As with the farm sample, the high income group clearly enjoys better physical health than does the low income group. The latter more often reported their health as only "fair," "poor" or "very poor," less often reported having no health problems themselves, and less often reported no illnesses in the household during the previous year. The high income group members more often reported illnesses lasting less than one week, but they also more often reported illnesses lasting nine or more weeks as well. It should be emphasized that the number of cases for all three income groups is extremely small, for reasons discussed earlier.

Unlike the farm sample, the low income non-farm sample members reported a higher incidence of childhood deaths than the high income members. It should be noted that the high income group members are younger than the low income group members, thus the latter group might be expected

CHAPTER VII - TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF SUBJECTS FROM THREE INCOME GROUPS MAKING SELECTED
RESPONSES TO PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH INDICES

NON-FARM SAMPLE

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Health rating "fair," "poor" or "very poor"	50.9%	45.5%	30.2%
Reports no health problems	54.5	68.0	68.8
Reports having health problems which interfere with daily activity	25.5	17.3	20.2
Respondent ill during last year	29.4	28.9	20.0
No illness reported in household previous year	53.7	55.8	69.7
Wives ill during previous year	22.0	23.3	15.2
Husbands ill during previous year	22.0	23.3	15.2
Illness lasting one week or less	17.6	11.8	33.3
Illness lasting nine weeks or more	29.4	52.9	55.6
Cases of illness which were treated by an M.D.	83.3	88.2	100.0
Families reporting one more more accidents during previous year	2.4	4.6	0.0
Children ill during previous year	20.0	14.7	14.3
Families reporting one or more child deaths	27.5	16.4	16.9
Has no health insurance	26.8	6.5	14.5
Financial reason given for having no health insurance	25.0	25.0	25.0
Reports medical bills over \$150 last year	18.6	22.4	23.5
Not able to pay bills immediately	22.7	14.7	24.2
Made a complaint about doctors in area	34.4	57.9	32.3
Made a complaint about hospitals in area	5.3	6.3	3.1
Low psychophysiological symptoms level scores (under 18)	41.1	36.7	42.2
High psychophysiological symptoms level scores (over 21)	34.0	29.1	28.1
Medium to high neuroticism scores (ten or more)	60.7	69.2	71.9
Families reporting a nervous breakdown among family members	4.9	0.0	0.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

to have a higher childhood death rate.

The low income group less frequently has health insurance than do the middle and high income groups; however, there is no indication that it has any greater difficulty in paying medical bills. There were no differences between the high and low income groups in complaints, but the middle income group made more frequent complaints about doctors than did either of the other two groups.

The only difference between the income groups on the mental health indices lies in the fact that the high and middle income groups had higher (mean) neuroticism scores than did the low income non-farm group.

Summary

There is a rather consistent pattern of differences between the high and low income groups, for both the farm and the non-farm samples. The low income groups have more health problems and more illness than do the high income groups. There is evidence of more illness among the children of the former and such differences as exist in childhood mortality between the two can be explained by differences in the ages of the samples. Low income group members are less often covered by medical insurance, and among the farm samples there is evidence that, although the out-of-pocket medical expenses of the low income group are less than those of the high income group, the former have more difficulty in paying these expenses. The only difference between groups found on the mental health indices was for the non-farm sample. Subjects in the two higher income groups had higher neuroticism scores than the low income group members. This may be related to the fact that there was apparently more conflict between both parents and parents, and parents and children, in the higher than the low income non-farm groups.

The Indian Ancestry Samples

Because of the problem of obtaining accurate data in regard to illness, problems which were inadequately solved with the white sample, no attempt was made to collect illness data from the Indian ancestry samples, nor was an attempt made to collect mental health data from these groups. The health information available for discussion in this section of the chapter consists of information on disability in the family, incidence of tuberculosis, family deaths, and medical insurance coverage. We shall describe the information available for each of these in turn. A summary of the statistical information on which this discussion is based is found in Table 5.

For the purposes of this study disability was defined as any physical handicap which prevented subjects from working, and/or which made them dependent on others in moving around or performing routine activities. Disabled subjects included accident victims, victims of polio, etc. One or more disabilities in the family were reported by one-third (32.6 per cent) of the members of the Saddle Lake and the Lac La Biche samples. Multiple disabilities were reported in over one-fifth (21 per cent) of the families. Families were also asked if any family members had tuberculosis. The incidence was almost exactly the same (32.3 per cent). Multiple cases were reported in 23 per cent of the households contacted. These two indicators suggest a high incidence of health problems among the Indian ancestry samples.

Further indication of family health problems is found in the information on death in the family, which was collected in the households which were interviewed. No less than 43 per cent of the families contacted had one or more deaths of a child under the age of twelve. This is almost twice the figure of 23.5 per cent which was obtained for the white samples interviewed. Twenty-seven per cent had two or more child deaths within the family, and nine per cent had four or more child deaths within the family. Stillbirths were reported in 27 per cent of the families contacted.

Medical Insurance Coverage

Subjects in the Lac La Biche sample were asked whether they had any insurance or other coverage of their medical bills. Thirty-two per cent reported that they did, and 68 per cent reported that they did not. The larg-

CHAPTER VII - TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON HEALTH PROBLEMS
FOR THE INDIAN ANCESTRY SAMPLES

	No.	%	Total Number of Replies
Respondents having no form of medical insurance	66	68.0	97
Proportion having all members of the family covered by insurance	23	23.7	97
Proportions without any disability in the family	130	67.4	193
Proportions with no tuberculosis in the family	132	67.7	195
Proportions with multiple cases of tuberculosis in the family	45	23.1	195
Families where one or more children had died before the age of 12	83	42.9	193
Families where two or more children had died before the age of 12	52	26.8	193
Families where one or more children had died before 1955	62	83.9	74
Families where one or more children had died after 1955	12	16.2	74
Families with one or more stillborn children	50	26.7	188
Families where there had been no deaths for the past three years	164	95.9	171

est group, 19 per cent, were covered by the Department of Public Welfare in connection with disability and old age pensions. Of the remaining 13 per cent, six per cent were covered under MSI and the remainder under other plans.

Summary

The information available on health problems among the Indian ancestry households which were interviewed has been very limited, but it has shown a strikingly high incidence of problems. Disability, tuberculosis, and child death rates have all been high. Further tabulations which were made show that the incidence of these conditions increases as the proportions of social allowance payments which the family receives increase. It was no surprise to discover that families which have some form of coverage of medical bills do not themselves pay for it, but rather have medical expense coverage as a consequence of the pension plans for which they qualify by reason of age or disability.

FOOTNOTES

¹Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff and Sheila Feld, Americans View Their Mental Health: A Nationwide Interview Survey, New York: Basic Books, 1960.

²Allister M. Macmillan, "The Health Opinion Survey: Technique for Estimating Prevalence of Psychoneurotic and Related Types of Disorder in Communities," Psychological Reports, 3 (September, 1957), pp. 325-339.

³Leo Srole, Thomas S. Lagner, Stanley T. Michael, Marvin K. Opler and Thomas A. C. Rennie, Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 40-43. Macmillan, loc. cit.

⁴Shirley A. Star, "The Screening of Psychoneurotics in the Army: Technical Development of Tests" and "The Screening of Psychoneurotics: Comparison of Psychiatric Diagnoses and Test Scores at all Induction Stations," Chapters 13 and 14 in Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., Measurement and Prediction, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 486-567.

⁵Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), pp. 469-480.

⁶H. J. Eysenck, Manual of the Maudsley Personality Inventory, Buckhurst Hill, Essex: Chigwell Press, 1959, p. 3.

⁷Eysenck, op. cit., p. 5.

⁸Public Health Reports show that the infant mortality rates per 1,000 dropped from 48 in 1940 to 43 in 1945, to 32 in 1950, and to 26 in 1955. This drop should be reflected in the infant mortality experience of the older members of the sample.

CHAPTER VIII

PERCEPTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION IN ITS ACTIVITY

Research studies have demonstrated that men can endure extreme discomfort and prolonged hardship indefinitely and remain in good spirits as long as they are members of close-knit groups in which they feel they belong--in a word, as long as they are members of a community.¹

But there is also a Swedish proverb which says, "When the feed trough is empty, the horses will bite each other," and there are numerous examples of groups that "fall apart" under stress of hardship. Considerations such as these led us to include questions in this study which explored the kinds of community perceptions held by the sample members and the ways in which they were involved in community activities.

In this chapter we shall have ample information on the community perceptions and participation of the farm and non-farm white samples, but we have very little information on Indians and Metis. The sections dealing with the white samples will be organized as follows: we will present information on perceptions of the community, relationships with fellow community members, activities and involvements in the community, community leaders, and poverty in the community.

The White Sample

Perceptions of the Community

Subjects were asked how they felt about the area in which they lived and their responses to these questions are summarized, by community, in Table 1.

The information in the table shows that although a majority of the people in every area answered the question, "Do you feel that this is a pretty good area in which to live or do you wish that you were living in a different area?" by expressing contentment, but there were wide differences between the communities studied. In Innisfail virtually everyone thought it a good area, while in Drumheller one-third wanted to leave. In response to the question, "Would you like to move (away from this area)?" the largest pro-

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 1

SELECTED RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS PROBING HOW WHITE SUBJECTS FELT ABOUT
THEIR DISTRICT AND THE PEOPLE IN IT, BY STUDY AREA

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Perceptions of the area questions:								
"Good area here?" Yes	82.1%	81.7%	85.0%	99.1%	87.1%	66.4%	80.4%	525
Would like to be able to move	23.7	20.0	24.2	18.2	21.6	35.3	26.2	168
Would advise children to stay	20.8	40.3	50.6	69.8	44.5	10.9	34.0	190
Has sentimental attachments to area	40.3	34.3	42.5	46.7	41.6	31.2	38.4	242
Perceptions of the people questions:								
People here are "very good" or "pretty good"	43.7	51.4	35.8	67.9	48.6	33.5	43.8	284
Best people are helpful, considerate, neighborly	44.3	42.4	26.4	57.9	38.9	15.0	34.2	178
Worst people are not community minded	18.6	21.4	10.0	23.8	16.6	2.4	12.8	65
Best people are "all kinds -- it doesn't matter"	6.6	10.2	10.4	0.0	6.0	4.12	16.7	87
Close attachments to relatives and friends in the area	37.1	23.2	33.3	60.6	41.1	36.2	39.5	259
No close friends or only one close friend	12.6	17.2	16.1	12.4	14.2	15.9	14.7	94
Ten or more close friends	43.0	40.1	13.6	27.7	30.7	34.1	31.8	203

portions favoring moving were in Drumheller and Niton, with Blueberry and Innisfail showing the smallest proportions.

These differences become more pronounced in the responses to the next question: "Would you advise your children to stay here in this area and make their homes here?" Over two-thirds (69.8 per cent) of the Innisfail subjects responded in the affirmative, explaining that it was an excellent farming area. Just over half (50.6 per cent) of the Niton residents also said yes, most of them giving the same reasons, and forty per cent of the Blueberry Mountain residents made the same kinds of responses. Only 21 per cent of the Dixonville people said yes. A sizable proportion of those who said no explained that they did not want their children to go into farming; it was a poor farming area, or there were better chances elsewhere. Only ten per cent of the Drumheller sample said they would advise their children to stay in that area; most of them said they felt there were better chances elsewhere.

The proportions of people who indicated that they had a variety of sentimental ties to the area--not including ties to people--shows a rather similar though less pronounced pattern.

In summary, these data do suggest some rather distinctive patterns of attachment to area. Innisfail and Drumheller are the areas to which their residents are most closely, and least closely, attached. Niton people voiced a strong attachment to the area, second only to Innisfail, but an unexpectedly high proportion said that they would like to be able to move. Blueberry Mountain people have few sentimental ties with the area, doubtless because of the brief residence of most subjects in that area, but they are deeply committed to their homesteads and farms. Dixonville people have medial ties with their area, and are medially satisfied with it; they are more skeptical about the advisability of their children planning to remain in the area.

Table 1 shows that there are some interesting differences between communities in the perceptions of people which appear to suggest significant differences in neighborliness and community spirit between these areas. The pattern is apparent in the first "perception of people" item in the table--the proportion responding "very good" or "pretty good" to the question, "How do you feel about the people in this community?" Innisfail people most fre-

quently made these responses, Drumheller people least frequently, with Blueberry, Dixonville, and Niton residents falling between the extremes in that order. The next two items make it clear that it is the helpfulness, considerateness and neighborliness that make them such fine people in the minds of the respondents. The proportion of respondents describing "the best people in this community" in these terms is again highest in Innisfail, lowest in Drumheller, next to the lowest in Niton, with Dixonville and Blueberry virtually trying for second and third positions. The "worst people in this community" are similarly described in opposite terms, and in virtually the same rank ordering. However, the data in the table show that the proportions describing the "best people" as "all kinds--it doesn't matter" are exactly reversed. We interpret these responses as indicative of indifference to people and uninvolvement in community life.

These data clearly suggest a maximum sense of community involvement in Innisfail, a minimum involvement among the farming communities in Niton, with Drumheller residents reflecting the least involvement of all. Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain appear to be about equal since they alternate second and third rank on the various indices.

We may summarize the pattern as follows: Innisfail people are the most favorably disposed toward their area and toward the people in the area. Drumheller residents are least favorably disposed toward their area or their fellow residents. Blueberry Mountain and Dixonville appear to be medially attached to both area and the people. Niton people appear to be attached to their area, quite probably because of the length of time that many of them have lived there, but their perceptions of their fellow residents suggest little community spirit or fondness for the people.

Involvements with People

The data in Table 1 support the pattern of community relationships which we have inferred from reported perceptions of people, although there are a variety of factors which tend to blur the picture. In response to the question, "Are there people in this area whom you feel close to, who make it difficult for you to move away. . . ?" Innisfail subjects most often said "yes." Blueberry Mountain subjects most often said "no," clearly because

of the recency of arrival in the area of many of them. In fourth place is Niton, with only one-third of the respondents answering "yes" despite the lengthy stay in the area of virtually all of the group. Dixonville and Drumheller residents ranked second and third respectively in frequency with which they answered affirmatively.

The proportions of subjects indicating that they had no close friends, or only one close friend, in response to the question, "How many close friends would you say you have around here--people you can share confidences with?" form an identical pattern. Proportions mentioning ten or more close friends form a very similar pattern except that Innisfail subjects rarely mentioned this many close friends. We suspect that middle class subjects usually report fewer close friends than lower class, and the Innisfail community is the most characteristically middle-class of the five studied.

Again the picture that emerges from these data shows Niton as an area which is singularly lacking in close relationships between people. In Innisfail relationships are close, though perhaps selective. In Blueberry Mountain there is a high proportion of subjects with few relationships, quite surely because of their recency of settlement in the area, but a very high proportion, forty per cent, do report ten or more close friendships. Dixonville residents report many close relationships, and Innisfail report a surprisingly large number consistently ranking in third place on the indices of involvement with people.

In summary, the picture of people's involvement with the area and with people is quite clear. Innisfail is an area of highest involvement on both scores. Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain rank next on both if one makes allowances for the fact that 45 per cent of the residents in the Blueberry area have settled there within the last ten years. Niton residents have apparently rather a strong sense of involvement with the area, perhaps because they have lived there so long that they are not involved with any other. However, their involvement with people is consistently the lowest of all the study samples. The Drumheller sample, although minimally involved with the area, have a certain number of involvements with people, although their attitudes toward most of the people in their area are indifferent to hostile.

Participation in Community Activity

Included in the interview schedule were a number of questions dealing with the extent to which subjects participate in community organizations and activities. These included the number of organizations they belonged to, their frequency of attendance of meetings, the number in which they had held official positions, the number of non-organizational positions they had held, including school board member, member of church executive body, membership in the Farmers' Union of Alberta, church membership and frequency of attendance. The responses to these questions are summarized in Table 2. The data serve to strongly reinforce the pattern seen earlier of high levels of community involvement in Innisfail, medial levels in Dixonville and Blueberry Mountain, and low levels of involvement in Drumheller and Niton.

The clearest pattern of relationships is found for unspecified organizational participation. The data in the table show that there are sizable differences between the different study communities on membership in one organization, membership in two or more organizations, having served as an officer in an organization, and having held an official position of any kind (including school board member, etc.). In each case, Innisfail ranks first, Dixonville or Blueberry Mountain rank second or third, Niton ranks fourth, and Drumheller ranks fifth.

The data on church membership and participation is somewhat more confused. The pattern of church membership is similar to that just described except that Drumheller and Dixonville have exchanged ranks. The pattern of responses for frequency of church attendance is somewhat affected by the fact that Niton has a sizable minority of Dutch Reformed residents who are devout in church attendance. However, if we recombine the data to answer the question: what proportion of the residents in each area attend church more than two or three times a year? we obtain a picture of actual participation in church life. This picture is very similar to the pattern of involvement in other organizations of the community which we have described above. Only Innisfail is displaced on rank downward from its usual first ranking position. This is probably explained by the fact that it is common for middle class members to be somewhat irregular in church attendance although their membership is high. As we noted earlier, Innisfail clearly has the highest proportion

ACTIVITIES AND INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY LIFE OF WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Member of organization	61.4%	67.1%	57.0%	75.5%	64.6%	27.2%	52.3%	344
Member of two or more organizations	36.6	31.0	19.7	42.3	33.6	5.7	24.9	163
Officer in organization	22.1	25.7	16.5	40.9	25.7	12.4	21.3	140
Has had official positions in community and/or organizations	30.9	28.6	21.3	44.6	30.2	18.4	27.1	177
Church member	69.9	79.7	70.5	82.7	74.7	73.6	74.4	490
Members who attend church every time there is a service or at least once per week	22.7	28.3	33.3	24.2	26.7	16.5	23.4	120
Do not go to church more than twice per year	65.3	47.2	67.5	56.8	61.0	71.0	59.8	262
Never belonged to Farmers' Union	43.7	67.6	29.8	38.5	42.7	Not relevant	42.4	188
Now belong to Farmers' Union	49.3	21.1	45.5	43.1	42.2	Not relevant	42.2	187
Favor other kind of farm organization	28.6	16.3	54.5	30.5	34.9	Not relevant	34.8	122
Get information from other people	75.9	76.1	69.7	68.2	72.2	65.4	70.0	463
Mentioned three or more leaders	48.8	29.3	23.2	52.0	39.0	23.2	35.0	171
Leader was a businessman, professional or successful farmer	36.6	7.7	4.7	23.3	19.4	82.9	32.9	199
Leader was lower white-collar or just farmer	56.3	84.6	89.9	48.3	68.8	4.7	54.9	332
Leader was mentioned work as community and church workers	27.1	42.4	13.4	37.4	27.1	42.3	29.9	150
Leader is active and generally "a good guy"	10.3	3.8	15.5	5.1	9.8	7.6	9.4	47
Leader is honest and trustworthy	36.9	35.0	41.5	34.8	37.2	36.5	37.1	370
Leader has aggressive initiative	7.1	8.4	4.5	11.6	7.9	9.6	8.4	84
Leader works effectively with people	22.6	20.5	17.0	16.8	19.3	23.3	20.5	205

of middle class residents of any of the areas studied since it was chosen as a prosperous comparison farming area. Thus, the church membership and participation data are generally in agreement with the pattern of differential community involvement by study areas.

Membership in the Farmers' Union of Alberta do not fit this pattern, however. These figures show that membership in the Union, both current and past, is very strong in Niton and very weak in Blueberry Mountain. The latter finding is perhaps explained by the fact that a Union chapter has not had a chance to become established there. To the question, "Why do you not belong (to the F. U. A.)?" 36 per cent of the Blueberry Mountain respondents said that they had not been canvassed or knew little about it, and another 30 per cent said they had lost interest and dropped out. In the Niton area there was apparently much stronger support for the Union in the past than there is now. The interviewer in that area thought that it now seemed very weak. Massive dissatisfaction with the Union on the part of farmers was found in that area. To the question, "Would you favor some other kind of organization of farmers?" 54 per cent of Niton respondents said "yes," as compared with 30 per cent of Innisfail, and 29 per cent of Dixonville subjects.

It would appear that in the areas studied the Farmers' Union has relatively little effect upon the community involvement of its members. It does not apparently serve to facilitate more extensive involvements. The area where it has been the strongest, Niton, is the area having the lowest level of community involvement. It is also the area where the suggestion to replace it with some other kind of farmers' organization was most frequently made.

A final relevant point is found in people's answers to a question on how they find out about things which interest them. We know from earlier studies that people in rural areas often answer "from other people," but the more middle class they are the less often they do so. Table 2 shows that a smaller proportion of Niton residents than of Dixonville or Blueberry Mountain residents answered "from other people." It appears that this also reflects the lower frequency of close personal relationships in the Niton area.

Subjects were asked, "Who would you say are the five people with the most influence in this community, in order? What does he/she do?" Re-

sponses to this question served as an index of community awareness and community participation. Of the 614 people who answered this question, only 35 per cent could name three people or more "with the most influence in this community." The proportions of those able to name three or more leaders in each community are found in Table 2. The pattern is identical with the pattern of community involvement from the previous section. The highest proportion is found in Innisfail (52 per cent), followed by Dixonville (48.8 per cent), Blueberry (29.3 per cent), and Niton and Drumheller (23.2) per cent.

Subjects were further asked what were the occupations of the leaders he mentioned: "What does he do in the community?" and "What characteristics do you think a community leader should have?" Do the answers to these questions provide us with any reasons for the weakness of community spirit in Niton and Drumheller? Table 2 shows the occupations, community characteristics, and desirable characteristics of the first two leaders named, by community. These data show that there are differences between communities named by respondents, by community.

In Dixonville and Innisfail one-fourth or more of the leaders were business or professional people or successful farmers. In Blueberry only eight per cent and in Niton only five per cent of leaders were in these categories. In Drumheller, 83 per cent were business or professional people. In all of the areas but Niton, leaders were described as community and/or church workers by at least one-fourth of respondents, including 42 per cent of those in Blueberry and Drumheller and 37 per cent of those in Innisfail. Only 13 per cent of Niton leaders were identified as community or church workers. Instead, they were described as "active" and "generally a good guy" more than twice as often as in the other areas. This seems strongly to suggest that there are few organizational channels in Niton through which leadership can be exercised.

In Niton, leaders were more likely to be described as "honest and trustworthy" whereas in the other areas, leaders were more often described as "working effectively with the people" and "having aggressive initiative."

In contrast to other areas, those who are mentioned as leaders in the Niton area, and to a lesser extent in the Blueberry area, are (1) less well trained and less successful in farming, (2) handicapped by a lack of organizations through which to work, and (3) although respected for their character, they lack effective social skills and aggressive initiative. It would thus appear that the organizational weaknesses of the Niton area are compounded by the shortage of able and successful men to try to exercise effective leadership.

Perceptions of Poverty and Attitudes Toward the Poor

We have seen that there are many differences--in income, interpersonal relationships, community involvement and neighboring, community participation, leadership--between the communities which we have studied. Have these differences in communities produced consequent differences in perceptions of poverty and in attitudes toward the poor in these various communities?

The interview data tell us the bases respondents used for making judgments about the poverty of other people, the respondents' beliefs as to why these people are poor, how they feel about being poor, and their suggestions as to what the government should do about the situations of poor people. We shall comment briefly upon each of these.

The data in Table 3 show that the two poorest areas in the study are Niton and Blueberry Mountain. A higher percentage of Blueberry families than Niton families earned less than \$1,000 in 1965, but a higher proportion of the latter than of the former earned less than \$2,000. A much higher percentage of Niton than Blueberry families reported that their farms were worth less than \$10,000, although there is the possibility that a certain proportion of the new homesteaders in the Blueberry area are optimistically overestimating the value of their property. Since 1965 was an unusually poor year all over the Peace River country, we judge that the Niton area is actually the poorest of the farming areas studied. Dixonville appears to be a bit more prosperous than either, and Innisfail is the most prosperous of all. The relative prosperity of Drumheller is hard to establish in view of the difficulty in equating farm and non-farm incomes, but it is probably roughly comparable with the three poorer farming areas.

In Table 3 there is a remarkable pattern in answer to the question, "Are there people who you would say are really poor in this district?" If one ignores Innisfail responses--on the assumption that there really are very few "poor" people in that area--then it appears that the highest proportion of respondents claim there are no poor people in the poorest of the interview areas. Similarly, it is in Niton that the lowest proportion of people report that six or more poor families live in the area. The explanation of this paradox appears to be that if it is generally felt that to be poor is disreputable, then the more poor subjects who are interviewed, the more likely they are to deny that there are any poor people in the area. It follows, if this argument is valid, that in talking about poor people, people who are actually poor will do so in such a way as to emphasize that they are themselves different from those poor people. Subjects' answers to a number of questions about poor people appear to demonstrate this. In response to the question, "How can you tell that poor people are poor? How does it show?" Niton residents, who were quite incensed that their I. D. had been referred to in the press as a "poverty area," often replied, "Poor people don't take care of their children," while the most common reply for the total sample was that poverty is reflected in the standard of living.

Subjects' answers to the questions, "Could you please tell me why it is that each of these families is poor? How do you think these families feel about their situations?" and "Do you think that there is anything that the government ought to do to help families like these?" can be divided into tolerant and intolerant answers. Intolerant answers to the first question are moralistic and condemning: "they are lazy; or alcoholic," while tolerant answers emphasize lack of ability and factors over which the families had no control. Intolerant answers to the second question are scornful: "they are satisfied; they grab what they can," while tolerant answers are compassionate: "they feel badly; they would like to do better." Intolerant answers to the third question are punitive: "cut them off welfare; make them work," while tolerant answers emphasize the need for more effective efforts to rehabilitate the families.

On the first two questions, the highest proportion of intolerant answers was made by Niton residents, while the lowest proportion of condemning re-

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 3

POVERTY INDICES AND PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POOR
BY WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total No.	%
Families earning less than \$1,000 in 1965	31.3%	43.8%	29.5%	7.6%	26.8%	3.0%	116	19.0
Families earning less than \$2,000 in 1965	76.6	79.7	84.9	48.6	72.2	28.5	242	39.6
Farms worth less than \$10,000 in 1965	15.1	8.4	27.1	1.9	14.0	Not relevant	36	15.5
"No poor live in this area" responses	32.6	31.1	35.0	75.5	43.6	27.7	243	38.4
Six or more poor in this area mentioned	24.3	21.7	13.7	1.0	15.1	36.3	133	20.7
Poverty shows in people's standards of living	46.0	61.8	31.5	40.9	42.7	42.2	147	42.5
Poverty shows because their children are not taken care of	12.6	5.9	34.2	13.6	18.8	21.1	68	19.7
Poverty shows in poor housing	21.3	17.6	9.6	18.2	16.5	5.5	43	12.4
Poverty shows because the people are on welfare	10.3	8.8	12.3	9.1	10.6	15.6	43	12.4
Why are they poor? They are lazy, alcoholic	46.9	24.4	54.2	28.0	43.5	37.1	152	41.0
Why are they poor? They are inferior; poor management; too many children	34.0	37.8	22.2	36.0	31.1	28.0	111	29.9
Why are they poor? Objective reason given	19.1	37.8	23.6	36.0	25.4	34.9	108	29.1
How do poor people feel? Satisfied	52.3	41.2	56.7	38.1	50.2	45.2	166	48.3
Should government help? No, punitive response	46.1	18.4	31.5	29.2	34.9	25.2	114	31.1
Should government help? With financial help	14.3	29.0	17.1	20.8	18.4	11.9	58	15.8
Should government help? Rehabilitate and educate	24.2	26.3	30.0	33.3	27.4	40.5	119	32.6

sponses was made by Innisfail and Blueberry Mountain residents. However, in responses to the third question it is the Dixonville residents who most frequently gave punitive responses. Why the previous pattern was broken at this point is not clear. We suspect that subjects were sufficiently aware of their own proximity to poverty that although they seek to identify with the non-poor by condemning the poor, they still are too well-aware of their own potential need for assistance to be critical of it.

The pattern of Drumheller responses is very similar to that of the Niton subjects. The major point of difference is that a high proportion of the Drumheller sample did acknowledge the existence of many poor people in the area. In response to the question, "How can you tell they are poor?" a high proportion replied that the children of the poor are not taken care of, and that they are on welfare. Few said they have poor housing. These replies again appear to reflect the respondents' needs to differentiate between themselves and "the poor," since many of the respondents did have poor housing and a low standard of living, but few were on relief. In response to the last three questions: "Why are they poor? How do they feel about it?" and "What should the government do to help?" the pattern of responses in Drumheller was identical with that in Niton. Subjects responded intolerantly to the first two questions but not to the question on what the government should do.

It would appear from our data that when people who suspect that they are poor live in the midst of others whom they feel are poor, they will attempt to characterize "the poor" in such a way as to demonstrate that they themselves are not poor. Such a characterization will probably commonly be a condemning one. However, it appears further that such respondents do not advocate a punitive way of dealing with "the poor," quite possibly because they suspect that they may themselves need aid at some time in the future.

Summary

The conclusions which emerge from the chapter are easily summarized. Considering only the farm samples, we have seen that the Niton area shows the weakest indications of community sentiment and community organization and involvement, while the strongest are in the Innisfail area. Dixonville and Blueberry, in that order, fall in intermediate positions. Leadership is weaker and less well recognized in Niton, and to a lesser extent in Blueberry than in the other areas. In Drumheller, there are much weaker indications of community sentiment, community organization and involvement than in the farming areas, but this is no doubt in part because these tend to be weaker in urban than in rural areas. Leadership is less well recognized in the Drumheller area than in the farm areas as well, but there is no indication that it is weaker leadership. Again the obstacles with which leadership must cope in urban areas, especially in terms of more apathetic people, are greater than in rural areas.

Our data do suggest that "when the feed trough is empty, the horses will bite each other," but with the qualification that it is in those areas where community sentiment and involvement are low that this is likely to be true. Thus in Niton and Drumheller, both areas which are low in community sentiment and involvement, people were likely to describe the poor in disdainful terms, emphasizing their immorality and inferiority, and stating that they were satisfied with their own condition. In Blueberry, however, a rather poor but better organized area, the sentiments expressed toward the poor were more understanding, more often emphasizing objective reasons for poverty.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Attitudes Toward the Community, and Community Participation of Sample Members

In this section we shall summarize the relationships which exist between the level of income and attitudes toward the community and the people in the community, the participation of subjects in community life, and their attitudes concerning poor people in the community, for both the farm and the non-farm sample.

In Table 4 is found the proportion of each of the three income groups having selected attitudes toward their communities and relationships with people in these areas. The data show that farmers in the higher income groups have more favorable attitudes toward the area and the people. They have different conceptions of what kind of people are the "best people" and the "worst people" than do the low income farmers. The high income group more often said that their area was a good area and they would advise their children to stay in that area, even though they had fewer relatives. They more often said that the people were "very good" or "pretty good"; emphasized that the "best people" are people who are responsible, considerate and neighborly, and the worst are not community minded. There were no differences between the income groups in proportions reporting many close friends, but more of the high income farmers reported that they had no close friends, or only one, than low income farmers.

Table 5 shows that there are important differences between the high and low income farmers in their participation in community life and their characterizations of community leaders. Members of the high income groups, more often than members of the low income group, were members of two or more organizations, served as officers in organizations and as officials in the community, and attended church. They more often were able to name three or more leaders and more often named men who had higher occupational positions or who were wealthy farmers. In characterizing leaders, they described them as men who worked through organizations to accomplish their ends, whereas lower income group members more often described leaders as those who served as community or church workers. Thus, the former tended to emphasize responsible organizational involvement while the latter emphasized service to others.

Table 6 suggests that there are few differences between the high and the low income farmers in their perceptions of poor people in the areas. There were no differences in their ability to identify poor people, but high income farmers more often said that reciprocity of social assistance is the mark of poorness. High income farmers said that poor families are poor be-

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 4

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
TO ITEMS REFLECTING PERCEPTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY, BY INCOME GROUPS

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
This is a good area	83.9%	89.4%	95.1%
Would like to be able to move	23.9	15.8	28.3
Would not advise children to stay	58.3	54.0	39.6
Has no sentimental attachments to area	54.4	55.9	55.7
Has attachments to relatives in area	24.9	31.9	16.1
People in this area are "very good" or "pretty good"	50.6	65.3	73.7
Best people are helpful, considerate, neighborly	37.6	41.7	49.1
Best people are conventional	26.5	27.2	23.6
Best people are "all kinds -- does not matter"	7.6	8.7	0.0
Best people are ambitious, progressive	18.8	16.5	21.8
Worst people are not community minded	19.1	12.2	26.4
Worst people are irresponsible	19.3	25.6	27.5
No close friends or one only	14.8	10.7	25.9
Eight to 16 close friends	14.8	19.8	19.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 5

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
TO ITEMS REFLECTING PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY LIFE, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Not a member of an organization	40.4%	29.4%	32.8%
Member of two or more organizations	28.0	37.6	39.4
Officer of an organization	20.7	30.2	31.1
Official in community and/or organization	26.8	34.9	34.6
Member of a church	75.2	69.6	81.7
Never attend church	32.1	44.8	29.5
Attend church every time there is a service	25.7	27.8	32.0
Now a farm union member	39.8	47.6	40.7
Never a farm union member	44.5	36.5	40.7
Favors a new organization for farmers	34.1	36.4	27.7
Gets information from other people	71.5	73.8	68.9
Named three or more leaders	32.9	37.2	48.9
Occupation of leader named was professional, businessman or successful farmer	14.1	21.9	34.0
Occupation of leader named was lower white- collar or a farmer	80.5	63.4	39.5
Leaders serve as community and church workers	28.1	23.1	14.7
Leaders work through organizations	26.0	26.2	50.0
Leaders work well with people	21.7	19.3	14.5
Leader has aggressive initiative	9.7	10.1	12.7

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 6

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
TO ITEMS DEALING WITH PERCEPTIONS OF THE POOR, BY INCOME GROUPS

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
"No poor live in this area"	45.5%	40.3%	47.5%
"We are poor"	6.5	1.7	1.7
Identifies five or more poor families in area	19.6	18.7	19.3
Poorness shows - standard of living	42.7	38.2	34.6
Poorness shows - on welfare	8.3	13.2	19.2
Why poor: lazy and/or alcoholic, immoral	48.4	50.0	41.7
Why poor: poor management, inferior ability	23.7	17.2	37.5
Why poor: objective reasons beyond their control	33.3	38.6	24.1
Poor feel satisfied	54.6	50.8	56.0
Government should help poor? No - be punitive	45.7	37.5	45.8
Government should help poor? Yes - financial assistance	29.6	32.1	29.2
Government should help poor? Yes - rehabilitate	24.7	30.4	25.0

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

cause they are lazy, alcoholic, or immoral, but more often said they are poor because of poor management or inferior ability. Subjects in the two lower income groups more often said they were poor because of reasons beyond their control.

The high and low income farmers most frequently suggested that the government should be punitive in its treatment of the poor, while the middle income group more often suggested the development of rehabilitation programs.

In summary, high income farmers are more favorably disposed toward their area and the people in it and are more frequently involved in the life of the community. There are few differences between subjects by income level in their perceptions of the poor, but there are some indications that low income people are more intolerant toward the poor than the higher income group.

The Non-Farm Sample

There are a number of interesting differences between the farm and the non-farm samples in the relationships between income level and attitudes toward and participation in the community. Table 7 shows the proportions of each of the three income groups having selected attitudes toward their communities, and relationships with some of the people in these areas. The high income group more often than the low income group said that the area was a good area and that they would advise their children to stay. They less often said they wanted to move, even though they less often had relatives in the area than did the low income group members. They were not more favorably disposed toward the people in the area than the low income subjects, but they did differ in their conceptions of "best" and "worst" people in ways not entirely consistent with the pattern of the farm sample. The high income subjects most often described the best people as conventional, ambitious and progressive and the worst people as irresponsible, while the low income subjects most often described the best people as helpful and neighborly, or "all kinds--it doesn't matter." Members of the high income group consistently reported having more close personal friends than members of the low income group.

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 7

PROPORTIONS OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
TO ITEMS REFLECTING PERCEPTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY, BY INCOME GROUPS

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
This is a good area	62.5%	65.8%	76.6%
Like to be able to move	44.6	28.3	34.4
Would not advise children to stay	56.1	65.7	43.3
Has no sentimental attachments to area	74.5	77.3	62.5
Has attachments to relations in area	33.4	21.6	22.1
People in this area are very good or pretty good	57.9	50.7	55.5
Best people are helpful, considerate, neighborly	20.9	16.7	8.0
Best people are conventional	2.3	3.7	16.0
Best people are ambitious, progressive	2.3	14.8	16.0
Best people are all kinds - does not matter	41.9	51.9	30.0
Worst people are not community minded	2.3	4.6	0.0
Worst people are irresponsible	29.0	17.8	47.5
No close friends or only one	26.8	16.4	4.5
Has eight to ten close friends	39.3	49.3	57.3

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

The data in Table 8 shows that there are few differences in the number of community involvements between the high and low income level groups of the non-farm and the farm sample. The high income group members more often than the low income subjects were members of organizations, attended church every Sunday, and were able to name three or more leaders. They differed considerably from the low income subjects in their characterization of leaders, emphasizing their competence and aggressive initiative. The latter characterized them as working well with people.

Table 9 shows that the high income subjects were more likely than the low income subjects to deny that there were any poor people "in this area," and they tended more often to report that poorness was reflected in people's standard of living. They less often emphasized laziness and immorality as the reasons for poverty and less often suggested that the poor feel satisfied and "get what they can" in their situation. Both the high and low income groups more often recommended a punitive governmental policy toward the poor than did the middle income group, but more of the high and the low income group members suggested the need for more rehabilitation programs for poor people.

In summary, high income subjects in both samples are more favorable toward the areas in which they live than the low income subjects. Those in the farm sample have more favorable attitudes toward people in the area, and they characterize the "best" people as community minded and neighborly, thus emphasizing community values. The non-farm high income group more often described them as ambitious and progressive, thus emphasizing values of individualism. The high income farm sample group was more highly involved in community activities than the high income group in the non-farm sample.

There were differences between the high and the low income groups for both the farm and the non-farm samples in their characterizations of leadership activity. The high income group members more than the low income group members tended to emphasize the organizational involvement of leaders in the farm sample and the aggressive initiative of leaders in the non-farm sample. The high income groups in both samples tended to emphasize

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 8

PROPORTIONS OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
TO ITEMS REFLECTING PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY LIFE, BY INCOME GROUPS

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
Not a member of an organization	78.9%	73.1%	71.9%
Member of two or more organizations	3.6	7.7	3.2
Officer of an organization	8.8	14.3	10.9
Official in community and/or organization	17.5	23.0	14.3
Member of a church	73.7	70.9	73.4
Never attend church	43.9	32.9	43.8
Attend church every time there is a service	22.8	33.9	34.4
Gets information from other people	63.2	65.4	65.6
Named three or more leaders	9.6	13.5	20.0
Occupation of leader named was professional, businessman, or successful farmer	42.1	25.9	46.9
Occupation of leader named was lower white-collar or farmer	10.0	5.6	5.9
Leaders serve as community and church workers	41.7	55.0	44.4
Leaders work through organizations	50.0	30.0	40.7
Leader works well with people	37.5	32.5	10.9
Leader has aggressive initiative	2.1	7.4	16.4
Leader is competent	10.4	14.7	23.6

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER VIII - TABLE 9

PROPORTIONS OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING RESPONSES TO ITEMS
DEALING WITH PERCEPTIONS OF THE POOR, BY INCOME GROUPS

	<u>INCOME</u>		
	<u>LOW</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>HIGH*</u>
"No poor live in this area"	25.5%	22.7%	37.5%
"We are poor"	10.9	9.3	6.3
Identifies five or more poor families in area	38.5	40.0	40.7
Poorness shows - standard of living	37.1	40.0	54.5
Why poor: lazy and/or alcoholic, immoral	64.3	46.4	46.4
Why poor: poor management, inferior ability	14.3	12.2	25.0
Why poor: objective reasons beyond their control	21.4	34.1	25.0
Poor feel satisfied	55.6	42.6	41.7
Government should help poor? No - be punitive	33.3	21.3	34.4
Government should help poor? Yes - financial assistance	42.4	19.1	21.9
Government should help poor? Yes - rehabilitate	24.2	59.6	43.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

the inferiority of poor people. A rather high proportion of both are somewhat punitive in their recommendations of what the government should do for the poor.

The Indian Ancestry Samples

No items were included in the interview schedule used with the Indian ancestry samples but much of the information included in Chapter V on satisfactions and future plans does relate to the community involvement of the sample members. One of the strongest patterns reported there was a preference for the local settlement or community, the people who lived there and the way of life which was possible there. Subjects clearly recognize that the town and the city had important objective advantages, but the preference was for the small, familiar, secure home settlement.

We did not ask people any of the questions about number of close friends, leaders, etc., which we asked of the white sample members, because these questions would have seemed "silly" to people who live in as close interdependence with each other as many of the households do in the Lac La Biche and the Saddle Lake areas. Appendices E and F, written by research assistants who spent six weeks living in the Kikino colony and the Saddle Lake reserve, contain descriptions of the kinds of relationships and community involvements that were found in these areas. These descriptions cannot be summarized easily here. Suffice it to say that the pattern of life is sufficiently sustaining and the apparent threat of the outside world is sufficiently great that, as many of our interview items show, most subjects are not willing to cut themselves loose from the home community in order to venture where opportunities are known to be more plentiful. Readers interested in some of the details of this community life are referred to Appendices E and F.

CHAPTER IX

INVOLVEMENTS BEYOND THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

In the previous chapter we examined a number of indices of community involvement in order to discover to what extent the participating subjects of this study lived in areas with an active community life. We discovered that there were significant differences between areas in perceptions of community, degrees of involvements in organizational activity, awareness of community leadership, etc., and that these differences are clearly associated with income levels.

However, one of the characteristics of the world of the 1960's is not only that it is "one world," but also that events going on half-way around the world profoundly affect the livelihood and the lives of most of us. It is accordingly true that such events may open up new opportunities, and may make once profitable ventures bankrupt. To respond adequately to the new opportunities and to those whose fulfillment tomorrow will bring, one must be aware of the breadth of the world scene which giveth and taketh away; involvements beyond the community level are essential. One of the surest ways of sinking into poverty is to orient oneself to too narrow a world, which will surely cause today's profit to become tomorrow's loss. One of the surest ways of making significant improvements in one's situation is to be sensitive to the early signs of change in order to prepare oneself to take advantage of tomorrow's opportunities.

To what extent do the subjects in our samples have enough breadth of interest and involvement to give them a scope of awareness necessary for realistic planning for tomorrow for themselves and for counseling for their children? What are some of the consequences of involvement and lack of involvement? The purpose of this chapter is to present the information available from this study which provides an answer to these questions.

The data relevant to these questions include the sources of information used by subjects, their interests and their activities which are reflective of involvement beyond the community level and their attitudes of optimism or despair toward life. As usual we have more information available

from the white samples than we do from the Indian ancestry samples, but little is needed to characterize adequately the situation of these latter groups. We shall present the information for whites first, and for Indians and Metis second.

The White Sample

Two sets of items which were included in the schedule used to interview whites provide insights into the interests, knowledge, and involvements of respondents beyond the community level. These deal with (1) the sources of information utilized by respondents, and (2) the knowledge and reported interest of respondents in Provincial and Federal politics and their voting behavior. We shall deal with each of these in turn. Following this we shall discuss what we can tell from the data about the consequences of lack of involvement.

Sources of Information Available to and Utilized by Respondents

This section presents a description of the sources of information of respondents in terms of four aspects on which we have information: (1) the newspaper and magazine subscriptions of subjects, (2) their reports on the amount of time they devote to reading in winter and in summer, (3) the incidence of ownership of television, and the program choices of those able to watch television, and (4) subjects' ratings of the sources they customarily depend on for information. The latter information was obtained in answer to the question, "Here is a list of the various ways people find out about things. (A list is handed to the respondent), "Which would you say are the three most important to you? The statistical information on which the discussion in this section of the chapter is based is found in Table 1.

The picture which clearly emerges from the data in the table is that the Niton residents have the fewest sources of information available to them, and/or make the least use of those which are generally available. The Innisfail residents have the most sources of information available to them, and more importantly, make the most general use of those available to them. The Drumheller residents present a pattern generally similar to that of Niton but rather less extreme.

1. Subscriptions to Newspapers and Magazines. The information on which this section is based is found in Table 1 which shows the access to, and use

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR WHITE SAMPLES
PERTAINING TO SOURCES OF INFORMATION, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Subscribes to no daily paper	49.0%	69.1%	76.8%	36.1%	55.5%	22.9%	43.1%	188
Subscribes to three or more papers (including weeklies)	60.2	42.6	39.5	68.8	54.4	18.1	40.6	177
Subscribes to a metropolitan paper	11.4	10.3	9.3	16.5	11.8	58.5	29.6	129
Subscribes to no magazines	8.6	14.9	20.9	8.3	12.1	30.2	18.9	81
Subscribes to mass circulation magazines	35.7	42.6	34.9	52.4	41.1	31.3	37.4	163
Subscribes to farm magazines	59.2	51.5	62.8	63.9	58.9	Not Relevant	39.7	173
Spends two or less hours of reading in winter	27.6	36.1	25.3	13.7	26.6	34.5	28.6	185
Spends two or less hours of reading in summer	47.3	53.7	47.9	35.5	46.6	43.5	45.2	295
Don't have a television	25.7	40.3	36.6	1.8	25.5	7.6	19.8	129
Owners who watch television more than 20 hours per week	26.6	33.8	22.4	18.7	25.2	28.9	41.0	268
1st and 2nd choice program is an educational program	39.9	16.8	35.3	45.7	36.9	20.8	30.7	145
Get information from talking with people they know	75.9	69.7	76.1	68.2	72.2	65.4	70.0	463
Get information from television (as percentage of owners)	66.4	77.0	37.8	37.4	55.6	42.0	50.7	269
Get information from radio	42.8	51.6	66.2	62.7	53.8	52.6	53.4	353
Get information from newspapers	53.7	41.8	53.5	58.2	51.6	46.4	49.9	330
Get information from personal experience	28.6	34.4	30.0	31.8	31.2	39.3	33.7	223
Get information from magazines	13.8	14.8	11.4	28.2	17.1	12.3	15.6	103
Get information from church	14.3	15.6	17.1	7.3	13.4	12.3	13.0	86
Get information from school	7.6	10.7	11.3	2.7	7.8	6.6	7.4	49

of, various sources of information by community. The data clearly show that among the farming areas the Innisfail residents most frequently subscribe to newspapers and magazines, especially to metropolitan daily papers and to the mass circulation magazines such as Macleans, the Saturday Evening Post, Life, Time, The Readers' Digest, and the farm magazines which most frequently provide information in popular form on today's world. The Blueberry Mountain and the Niton residents consistently subscribe to the fewest newspapers and magazines, which may be reflective of the very low levels of income of many of the subjects interviewed in these two areas. The Drumheller residents have the highest rate of subscription to a metropolitan newspaper, but the lowest rate of subscription to magazines.

2. Time Devoted to Reading. More important than subscription to periodical materials in most areas is the amount of time that people are willing to devote to reading, since discarded newspapers and magazines are easy to obtain from others. The table shows that the areas with the lowest newspaper and magazine subscription rates are the areas where people spend the least time reading in both summer and winter. Niton surpasses Blueberry Mountain in this regard, particularly in winter reading, but residents in all three of the poorer farming areas spend significantly less time in reading all year than the Innisfail residents. The Drumheller residents are rather similar to the poorer farming area residents. They report spending more time reading in the summer but a little less time in winter.

3. Ownership and Viewing of Television. The data in Table 1 show that sizable proportions of subjects in the poorer farming areas do not have television-- 26 per cent in Dixonville, 37 per cent in Blueberry, and 40 per cent in Niton. In the farming areas it is generally true that the less common television ownership is in an area the more time is spent in viewing by those who do have sets. The proportion of television owners who report viewing television more than 20 hours a week is lowest in Innisfail and highest in Niton. When we look at the choices reported by owners of their favorite programs, we find that educational and information programs (in contrast to variety, sports, drama, comedy, quiz and musical programs) are mentioned as first or second choice programs most frequently in the high ownership areas and least frequently in

the low ownership areas. In other words people in the poorest areas, Niton and Blueberry Mountain, prefer the "wrong" television programs from the perspective of the educational and informative potential of television. Only 16.8 per cent of Niton television owners, and 35.3 per cent of Blueberry Mountain owners, in contrast to 45.7 per cent of those in Innisfail mentioned an educational program as a first or second choice.

In regard to television usage, the Drumheller residents most closely approximate the Niton pattern. In frequency of ownership they are second only to Innisfail, but in regard to time spent watching television they are second only to Niton, and in regard to their choice of programs they elect educational programs even less frequently than do the Niton residents.

4. Rated Dependence on Various Sources of Information. The information found in this section of Table 1 substantiates the pattern which we have described above. The most frequently mentioned source of information was "talking with people you know." The disadvantage of this source is that if the people "you know" in an area are generally uninformed, you will learn relatively little, outside of community happenings, from them. It is relevant in this context then that Innisfail subjects reported this source least frequently and Blueberry Mountain subjects reported this most frequently. Niton subjects also reported this relatively infrequently, a fact which we interpreted earlier as reflective of the comparatively high social isolation of Niton residents.

Getting information from newspapers was mentioned most frequently by Innisfail subjects and least frequently by Niton subjects. This appears to suggest that although they subscribe to newspapers more frequently than Blueberry residents they read them less. Magazines are mentioned frequently by Innisfail residents and least frequently by Blueberry and Dixonville residents. Radio as a source of information was mentioned most frequently by Blueberry and Innisfail residents and least frequently by Dixonville and Niton residents. Depending on television for information was mentioned most frequently (when this was expressed as a percentage of television owners) by Niton and Dixonville and least frequently by Innisfail and Blueberry residents. That "the information" received from this source is unlikely to be educational

in Niton and Dixonville is seen by the relative unpopularity of educational programs in these areas.

It is noteworthy that in Blueberry and Niton, where other formal sources of information are least often available and/or less often utilized, the church and the school were most frequently mentioned as information sources. They were mentioned least often in Innisfail. We may speculate that where formal sources of information are more scarce, and where people are relatively socially isolated, people will be thrown back on personal experience for information. The high rate of dependence in Niton on this source would be significant in terms of this argument.

In Drumheller residents present a somewhat mixed pattern. Like the residents of the poorer farming areas, they make little use of radio, magazines and newspapers. Unlike them, they also make little use of television and talking "with people you know." Their social isolation appears to be demonstrated in their comparatively greater dependence on personal experience as a source of information.

It is clear that Innisfail residents do have the most numerous sources of information, but it also clear that they exploit them most assiduously by spending time reading the materials they receive and by watching the most informative programs on television. Niton residents have much more limited information sources, and those which they do have, they are least likely to exploit for informative purposes. In certain ways Blueberry has more limited sources of information than does Niton, but in general they exploit them better. In terms of both sources of information available and utilization of them, Dixonville appears to fall between Innisfail and Blueberry but closer to the latter in both respects. The Drumheller pattern is quite good in sources available--newspaper subscription and television ownership--and bad in other ways--magazine subscriptions. Drumheller residents appear to be most similar to Niton residents in terms of the extent to which they utilize these resources.

Political Involvement: Interest, Knowledge and Voting

A broader circle of interests and involvements on the part of subjects is likely to be reflected in Provincial and Federal politics, because these arenas shape the future of the province, the country, and, in part, the whole world. People who have a range of interests which extends beyond themselves, their families, and their local communities cannot but be interested in these political spheres. This was the justification for seizing upon the political interests and activities of subjects as indices of their larger involvements. Subjects were asked to rate their interest in provincial and federal politics; they were tested on their knowledge of the MP and MLA who represent their district, and they were asked whether they had voted in the last two Federal elections and in the last Provincial election. The responses to each of these questions are summarized in Table 2.

Political Interest Ratings

The data in Table 2 shows that, by community, the political interests of subjects in the three poorer areas are all very similar and that they contrast distinctly with those of the wealthier Innisfail area. Subjects in the former areas report more interest in provincial politics than the latter, whereas the Innisfail residents more often report following Federal politics more closely than the former. Each group pursues its more specialized interest to some extent to the exclusion of the alternative. The sphere of interest of the Innisfail subjects is, of course, larger than is the sphere of interest of the others. Drumheller residents report following both Provincial and Federal politics much less frequently than the farm sample. A higher proportion reported interest in Provincial than in Federal Politics.

Knowledge of Local MLA and MP

The data in Table 2 show that the highest proportion of respondents politically informed, in the sense of being able to name both their MLA and MP, were in Dixonville and Innisfail. The proportion who were uninformed, in terms of being unable to name either, was largest in Niton and lowest in Innisfail and Dixonville. A much higher percentage of the residents of Innisfail were able to name their MP than in any other area, perhaps in part because the MP lives in the interview area. The lowest percentages were in

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR WHITE SAMPLES
RELATING TO POLITICAL INTEREST, INFORMATION AND INVOLVEMENT

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Follow provincial politics very closely or fairly closely	55.1%	53.0%	52.1%	43.0%	50.9%	34.4%	45.6%	298
Follow federal politics very closely or fairly closely	46.2	44.2	45.0	53.3	47.1	28.9	41.2	269
Correctly named neither M.L.A. or M.P.	9.0	36.8	26.8	3.7	18.5	19.8	18.7	122
Correctly named both M.L.A. and M.P.	70.8	31.6	39.4	64.8	55.1	54.7	54.1	354
Correctly named M.L.A.	82.6	53.8	71.8	67.6	71.1	75.5	71.4	467
Correctly named M.P.	79.1	41.0	40.8	93.5	67.8	59.4	64.1	419
Voted in all elections eligible for	76.8	82.4	68.5	88.5	80.1	62.9	74.5	446

Niton and Blueberry. Surprisingly, Innisfail informants did not know the local MLA as often as did Dixonville and Blueberry residents, although significantly more of them did than of Niton residents. This is clearly related to their greater interest in Federal than in Provincial politics. Drumheller residents were quite well-informed about their MLA and MP, falling about midway between the politically well-informed residents of Dixonville and Innisfail and the ill-informed of Blueberry and Niton.

Frequency of Voting in Provincial and Federal Elections

The data in Table 2 show that failure to vote is not a very commonplace problem in the areas studied, but there are differences between the various areas. Failure to vote occurred most frequently in Drumheller. Of the farming areas the one with the highest percentage who had failed to vote in all elections was Blueberry Mountain. Innisfail was the area with the highest percentages of subjects who had voted in all elections followed by Niton.

The data which we have presented thus far clearly show that there are differences in the political interest, information and involvement of subjects in the various areas studied. The Drumheller residents, although not notably informed, reported the least interest and the lowest voting rate. The most notable feature of the farm data was that Innisfail farmers were most interested and best informed about Federal politics, whereas the farmers from other areas were more interested and better informed about Provincial political matters. Niton residents least often knew their MP or their MLA. In terms of expressed interest they were very similar to residents in the other poorer farming areas. In terms of voting frequency they ranked second, below Innisfail.

Consequences of Involvements

A number of studies have investigated the relationship between information and involvement, especially political information and involvement, and a generally apathetic and despairing attitude toward life. Considerable evidence has been accumulated demonstrating that a relationship does exist between the two.¹ There is good reason to believe that those who are informed are more confident that they know "what is going on and why" and those who are involved are more confident that they can "do something about it" than

those who are not informed and involved.

Two items of information available in the interview schedule permit us to determine whether such a relationship exists among our sample members. First subjects were asked "Would you feel free to talk to your MLA about some of the problems of this district, and do you think talking to him would do any good?" The second, is an "anomie"² score, commonly used as a measure of generalized despair, which is available for each subject. This score is based on subjects' agreement with five statements, such as: "In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better," and "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." The scores range from 0 to 5.

These data, subdivided by community, are presented in Table 3. They show that the sample members in all of the areas felt that they could "certainly" or "probably" talk to the MLA. There were few differences between communities, the exception being Drumheller, where the MLA, Gordon Taylor, is a "living legend" in terms of what he will do for people. This is also reflected in the proportion of Drumheller residents who responded that it "certainly" would do some good to talk to the MLA. Some 50 per cent more of Innisfail and Blueberry Mountain residents than of Niton and Drumheller residents felt that "it would do some good." This supports the expectation that those who are less interested and less informed will be more apathetic and despairing.

The data in the table show that this expectation is further supported by the anomie score data. The area where people are best informed, most interested and most involved, Innisfail, has the lowest mean anomie score--1.63. Drumheller, the area where people are medially informed, but least interested and least involved, has the highest mean score--2.40. The three poorer farming areas, where people are medially interested, informed and involved, have mean anomie scores which are rather closely clustered midway between the low and high mean scores. It should be noted in conclusion that there is a "chicken and egg" question involved here: is anomie the result, or the cause, of low levels of information and involvement which are characteristic of the high anomie score areas? The data do not show, as we might have expected, that Niton scores were particularly high. The Blue-

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INDICES FOR WHITE SAMPLES
RELATING TO APATHETIC HOPELESSNESS

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Certainly or probably talk to M.L.A.	66.7%	73.9%	76.1%	74.6%	71.9%	87.3%	76.9%	495
Talking would certainly do some good	9.9	9.6	16.9	17.6	13.1	38.0	20.9	133
Anomie Total Score 0 or 1	47.5	47.9	41.2	54.6	48.1	33.0	43.3	279
Anomie Score 4 or 5	24.1	21.9	23.5	13.9	20.9	29.2	23.6	152
Mean Anomie Scores	2.04	1.96	2.14	1.63	1.93	2.40	2.08	645

berry scores were the highest of the farming areas.

Summary

This section has demonstrated rather clearly that there are significant differences in the kind and number of sources of information and in the degree of political interest and involvement between the different study areas. The poorer areas are less well-informed and politically less interested and less involved. This pattern is more true in the poor non-farm area than in the farm areas. The data further show that an apathetic and despairing attitude is likewise more characteristic of the poorer areas than the more prosperous areas and of the non-farm poor areas than of the poor farm areas. Which is cause and which is effect here cannot be determined. There are reasons to believe from other research studies that where it is possible to increase the amount of information at the disposal of people, and where it is possible to get them more involved in political processes, their sense of hopeless despair subsides. This is one of the assumptions of Community Development, particularly insofar as it attempts to motivate widespread participation. In particular, it appears that the Niton and Blueberry areas might profit from a program to increase involvement.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Involvements Beyond the Community Level

In this section we shall consider the relationships between annual income and the previous indices which we have used.

The Farm Sample.

In Table 4 are found the proportions of each of the three income groups which have selected characteristics relating to sources of information. The data are quite consistent in showing that the high income group has more and broader sources of information and makes more informative use of them than do the members of the low income groups. The highs, more often than the lows, subscribe to a daily newspaper, to two or more magazines, including mass circulation magazines like Macleans, Life, The Reader's Digest and women's magazines. They spend more time reading. They more frequently own television, but spend less time watching it, and when they do watch it they more often watch educational and news programs. They less frequently

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 4

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO
ITEMS RELATING TO SOURCES OF INFORMATION, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subscribes to no daily newspaper	57.2%	57.1%	43.8%
Subscribes to a metropolitan newspaper	9.7	12.9	15.6
Subscribes to two or more newspapers	49.4	64.9	82.2
Subscribes to a mass magazine	37.0	47.4	55.2
Subscribes to a woman's magazine	19.6	28.1	37.9
Subscribes to a farm magazine	62.0	57.9	65.5
Reads 5 or more hours per week in winter	45.4	50.8	53.7
Reads 2 to 9 hours per week in summer	38.8	47.2	53.4
Has no television	27.0	22.3	18.3
Views television more than 10 hours per week	68.8	63.8	53.0
1st choice in TV programs is educational	16.8	22.1	25.5
2nd choice in TV programs is new and weather	3.1	2.5	14.3
2nd choice in TV programs is comedy	15.0	17.5	7.1
Gets information from people	71.5	73.8	68.9
TV owners who get information from TV	59.2	62.8	42.9
Gets information from radio	53.3	56.3	49.2
Gets information from newspaper	45.3	59.5	55.7
Gets information from personal experience	33.6	30.4	29.5
Gets information from magazines	15.9	16.0	19.7

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

report getting important information from television and more often report getting important information from the newspaper.

In Table 5 are found the proportions of each of the income groups which gave various responses to items indicative of political information, interest and activity or involvement. The data show consistently that the high income group is better informed, more interested and more involved, in the sense of having voted more often than the low income group. In Table 5 are also found the proportions of each of the income groups which made responses to items indicative of apathy and despair. Again the data are consistent in suggesting that the low income farmers more often indicated that they felt it would do little good to talk to the MLA about the problems of the area. They more often had high anomie scores.

These data clearly do suggest that the low income members of the farm sample, in contrast to the high income members, have few sources of information about what is "going on in the world," have less interest and involvement in these affairs, as reflected in their lack of interest in provincial and federal politics and their less frequent voting, and have more of a sense of apathetic despair about life.

The Non-Farm Sample.

The patterns of relationship between income level and the indices of political interest and involvement, and apathetic despair are found in Tables 6 and 7. They are very similar to the patterns for the farm samples which we have just described, except that the patterns are weaker. The high income members of the non-farm sample clearly subscribe to more information-relevant reading material, and they report spending more time reading than do the low income members. They also more frequently own television, and they report spending more time watching television than do the low income television owners. They do report more interest in educational and news programs on television, but the differential is very low. They report that they get important information less often from radio and television than do the low income subjects, and, curiously, they report getting more information from "personal experience." What the significance of this last piece of information is is not known.

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 5

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO
ITEMS RELATING TO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND APATHY, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Follow provincial politics very closely or fairly closely	51.0%	43.2%	63.3%
Follow federal politics very closely or fairly closely	47.8	40.0	61.7
Correctly named M.L.A. and M.P.	49.3	58.1	62.3
Correctly named M.L.A.	68.5	72.6	68.9
Correctly named M.P.	60.0	71.0	77.1
Voted in all elections where eligible	70.3	77.4	81.7
Can certainly talk to M.L.A.	51.9	54.8	47.5
Would do no good to talk to M.L.A.	23.2	18.7	9.8
Total Anomie Scores 0	18.9	26.8	40.7
Total Anomie Scores 2 or more	53.8	44.7	35.5

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO
ITEMS RELATING TO SOURCES OF INFORMATION, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subscribes to no daily newspaper	20.0%	24.1%	4.3%
Subscribes to two or more magazines	24.1	43.2	56.3
Subscribes to mass magazine	24.0	24.1	47.8
Subscribes to woman's magazine	31.0	36.8	46.9
Reads 2-13 hours per week in winter	43.3	52.0	61.4
Reads 2-13 hours per week in summer	34.6	31.0	48.4
Has no television	15.8	6.5	3.1
Views television more than 20 hours per week	22.9	23.6	32.2
1st choice in TV programs is educational	4.3	11.6	8.8
2nd choice in TV programs is news and weather	2.6	3.8	6.1
2nd choice in TV programs is comedy	23.7	11.3	14.3
Gets information from people	63.2	65.4	65.6
TV owners who get information from TV	41.7	46.6	33.8
Gets information from radio	61.4	46.2	51.6
Gets information from newspaper	45.6	44.9	48.4
Gets information from personal experience	36.8	37.2	50.0
Gets information from magazines	7.0	19.2	7.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 7

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO
ITEMS RELATING TO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND APATHY, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Follow provincial politics very closely or fairly closely	36.8%	32.9%	40.7%
Follow federal politics very closely or fairly closely	30.3	22.8	37.5
Correctly named M.P. and M.L.A.	52.6	53.2	62.5
Correctly named M.L.A.	77.2	76.0	81.3
Correctly named M.P.	26.4	27.9	23.5
Voted in all elections where eligible	61.4	57.0	60.3
Can certainly talk to M.L.A.	65.5	63.6	63.5
Would do no good to talk to M.L.A.	11.1	17.1	14.5
Total Anomie Scores 0	10.5	13.0	19.0
Total Anomie Scores 2 or more	66.6	71.5	61.9

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

The data in Table 7 show that there are fewer differentials in interest and involvement in politics between the high and low income non-farm subjects than there was between the high and low income farm subjects. Those with high incomes reported more interest in both federal and provincial politics, but the differences were low. They were also more often able to name correctly both the MLA and the MP representing their area. There were no differences between income groups in voting frequency; all were relatively low. The low income group more often than the high gave responses to items indicative of apathetic despair, but the differences between the two groups were again low.

In summary, the data shows that the high income groups have more numerous sources of information about "the outside world," have more interests and involvements beyond the local community, and voice less apathetic despair than the low income groups. These differences are more distinct for the farm sample than for the non-farm sample.

The Indian Ancestry Samples

In view of what we have seen of the degree of involvement of Indian ancestry subjects in their rural settlements, this section is better called "contacts beyond the local community" than "involvements beyond the local community." In this section we shall discuss transportation and communication access to the "outside world," the Indian Agent as a mediator with the outside world, the school as an agency of the outside world, and experience with the city. A summary of the statistical information on which this discussion is based is found in Table 8.

Transportation and Communication.

One of the major problems of Indian ancestry subjects living on reserves, Metis colonies or other rural settlements is the problem of gaining access to the outside world. Sixty-one families, with an estimated 428 members, live on the Kikino colony. There is no telephone on the colony and the nearest one is ten miles from the colony center. On the Saddle Lake reserve there are two telephones, one belonging to a family living on the extreme south border of the reserve and the other a toll phone by the Roman Catholic Church. In the Kikino colony the problems which lack of a telephone create are com-

CHAPTER IX - TABLE 8

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION RELATING TO CONTACTS
BEYOND THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF INDIAN ANCESTRY SAMPLE MEMBERS

	Number	%	Total No. Of Replies
Proportion without private motor transport	76	42.5	179
Those who could name the Indian Agent	33	32.4	102
Those who had talked to the Agent	23	29.9	77
Thought that the Indian Agency was no help	55	90.2	61
Agency could help by getting to know the area and the people better	33	61.1	54
Never, or no more than twice per year visited the Indian Agency	46	68.7	67
Got no result from visiting the Indian Agency	21	45.7	46
Think they still need an Indian Agent	59	73.8	80
Need Agency because it can do things they can't	23	47.9	48
Had never lived in the city	128	68.1	188
Have relatives and friends in the city	152	81.3	187
Visit city twice or less per year	134	69.7	192
Proportion experiencing racial discrimination, either themselves or through others, in jobs, restaurants, public places, etc.	40	31.7	126

pounded by the fact that mail is delivered only once a week. The problems of communication with the outside which this situation creates, particularly in terms of making appointments with medical or welfare personnel, can scarcely be grasped by one who has not lived under comparable conditions of isolation.

It might be supposed that common ownership of automobiles would do much to mitigate the problems we suggest. However, our interview data show that only slightly more than one-half, 58 per cent, of the families interviewed in the Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake samples have any kind of motorized transportation. The situation is made more acute by the fact that there is no form of public transportation operating between any of the settlements in which our subjects lived and the towns to which they had to go periodically to shop, to see a doctor or to see welfare officials. The problems involved in hospitalizing a baby; taking it into the hospital, leaving it there, finding out when it is well enough to go home again and going into town to pick it up, under these circumstances, are beyond the experience of most readers of this report.

The solution to the problem of transportation is for those that have cars to provide transportation for those who have not. This they do, but for a price, and the price is \$10.00 for a return trip from Kikino to Lac La Biche. For a trip from Kikino down to the junction with Highway 28 the price is \$15.00. The price from Saddle Lake to St. Paul is also \$10.00. The financial burden that these transportation costs impose on families having the levels of income which we have described can be imagined.

The Indian Agent as Mediator.

One of the purposes of the original establishment of the Indian Agencies was to provide a mediating link between Indians and the outside world which they were ill-equipped to cope with. To what extent does the Agency still serve this kind of need? A number of questions which were asked of Indians at Saddle Lake help to provide an answer.

Some thirty-two per cent of those interviewed were able to name the current agent, who had been at this post for eight months. Less than one-third, 30 per cent, actually had talked with him. In response to the question, "How does the Agency help Indians?" 90 per cent answered that it did not help.

Seven per cent said that it gave welfare money and three per cent said that it gave help in farming. When asked what the agency should do to help, 61 per cent of the fifty-four subjects who made specific suggestions, said that there should be more visiting of the people, so that the agent would know the people, their situations, and their needs. Some 24 per cent said that he ought to provide more help and encouragement in farming and 15 per cent said that he ought to work to increase welfare payments.

When asked how often they went to the Agency Office in St. Paul, 28 per cent said never, 40 per cent said twice a year, 4 per cent said between two and eight times a year, and 27 per cent reported going more than eight times a year. The reasons for going varied, some went in connection with welfare, some for information, and some for help in farming. Forty-four per cent reported that they received the results they wished, ten per cent said that they sometimes did, and 46 per cent said that they did not. When asked what they believed the purpose of the Agency was, 81 per cent said that it was to help Indians. When they were asked if they still felt the need for the agent, about three-fourths answered affirmatively. The most common reason given for continuing to need the agent was that people could not look after certain needs themselves. The 25 per cent who said that there was no continuing need for the agent felt that people were able to manage for themselves.

The picture which emerges from this set of responses is that most of the subjects interviewed do not feel able to cope with the outside world and want the Indian Agency to fend for them. There was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the current operation of the Agency. This was based in large part on the feeling that the Agency personnel were not sufficiently familiar with the situations of the respondents to help them. To some extent there was a feeling that they were not interested in helping.

The School

One of the important sources of contact with the larger world is the school. The fact that the few remaining reserve, colony and small country schools are being rapidly replaced and consolidated into larger schools in town is accentuating this trend. The only small country school in the Lac

La Biche study area closed its doors during the summer of 1965, and the children are now being bussed into Lac La Biche. That is those who can obtain access to the bus route.

We have reviewed indications in Chapter VI that this school integration is not without problems, although it is welcomed by a majority of our Indian ancestry interview subjects. More detailed accounts of these difficulties are found in Appendices E and F. We want only to remark that the significance of the school as a source of contact with the outside world for Indians and Metis is currently sharply limited by the following: (1) The direct contact of parents with the school is currently limited to one conference a year. This is spent in the teachers' evaluating the children's progress. (2) Since most of the teachers in the town schools have never visited homes in the Indian and Metis settlements, the parents feel, correctly, that the teachers know almost nothing about their situations. The result is that teachers are not in a position to point up the relevance of material under study to the situations of the Indian ancestry children. We found evidence of considerable "rote learning" of material with little understanding of its significance on the part of Indian ancestry children. (3) The curriculum materials are heavily oriented to the situation of the middle class oriented urban child, with the result that its relevance to the Indian child is often obscure, and provides little for the child to identify with. (4) Since most of these children are vanned to and from school, they must leave the premises very soon after classes end in the afternoon. They are cut off from club and sports activities which are one of the important sources of school involvement for most white children.

The interested reader should turn to the accounts in Appendices E and F. Enough has been said perhaps to demonstrate that the worlds of the Indian ancestry person and of the middle class white person oriented school system are completely different. Much of the orientation potential of the school for the larger Indian ancestry community is lost because the means do not exist for translating information and insights which are available in the school into Indian relevant terms. The experiment in adult education on the Saddle Lake Reserve during 1965-1966, which is described in Appendix F--and an experi-

ment which is apparently not being repeated, was a good example of what can be accomplished when special efforts are made to design programs appropriate to the interest and sophistication level of Indian ancestry people.

Relations with the City.

How much direct contact with the city have the subjects interviewed had, and how much continuing indirect contact to they have with friends and relatives who are now living there? Almost one-third, 32 per cent of the Lac La Biche and the Saddle Lake samples reported that they had at one time lived in the city. Of these, 34 per cent said they had liked it, 43 per cent said they had disliked it, and 22 per cent were ambivalent. Only 18 per cent of the sample have no indirect contacts with the city. Some 80 per cent report having relatives there and another two per cent have friends there. All but 13 per cent have made visits to the city, and 17 per cent report visiting it once a month or more. Most of the subjects interviewed have a variety of direct and vicarious experiences with the contrasting outside world which the city represents. The result of these contacts, as we have seen previously, is that 50 per cent of the subjects interviewed said they were not interested in moving to the city.

We have pointed out that one reason for this is that Indians fear what the city may hold for them. To what extent is this fear the result of discrimination which they or their friends have experienced? The answer apparently is that a number have had direct or indirect experience of discrimination. Subjects were asked if they had ever been refused a job, or asked to leave a business or restaurant because they were Indian. Some twenty per cent said that they themselves had been refused a job, and another twelve per cent said they knew others who had had this experience. The proportion who had been asked to leave businesses and restaurants was almost the same; 18 per cent had had this experience themselves and 17 per cent knew others to whom it had happened. Such experiences would certainly dampen enthusiasm for moving to the city.

Other Sources of Information.

The sources of information concerning the larger world which we have discussed thus far are the ones which people in small and simple societies have traditionally relied on, personal experience or accounts of the experience

of others, heard from them at first hand. There is very little exposure to the mass media in the areas of Lac La Biche and Saddle Lake, and accordingly little systematic information was collected on the subject. No one on the Kikino Metis Colony subscribed to a newspaper or magazine, or owned a television set, and the situation was comparable in the other Indian ancestry settlements. Almost every family had a battery-powered transistor radio and these were playing constantly. They were almost invariably tuned either to CJCA or to CHED, both of which play music primarily. The first station largely plays "country western" music and the second "rock and roll." It was clear from informal conversation that the news broadcasts were largely ignored. One of the most powerful sources of "information" about the outside world available to Indian ancestry subjects through the mass media is the "rock and roll" and "country and western" music to which they listen. It is doubtful whether their own first and second hand contacts with the city are strong and different enough to contradict the disappointment, frustration and hopelessness emphasized by this music.

Summary.

The information which we have presented leads to the conclusion that the breadth and depth of exposure of the Indian ancestry members of our sample to "the outside world" is extremely limited. In the first place, mail and telephone communication, and transportation facilities of all kinds are scarce. In the second place, although Indians agree on the continuing need for the Indian Agent, the activities of the Agency appear to be largely devoted to welfare, health, pensions and other government-office oriented paper work. The contacts of the Agency personnel with the homes on the reserve is minimal, and there is very little personal advisement based on familiarity with and concern for the situation of the advised. Little effective orientation to the outside world takes place through this channel. Third, the same points can be made with respect to the school. There is good evidence that the influence of the school in orienting people to the outside world is extremely limited, even for the Indian ancestry children who sit within its walls. It does not gain their involvement in the first place, and in the second place, it often does not address him in terms clearly relevant to his situation. Fourth, our subjects had a variety of direct and indirect contacts with the city which

does epitomize the outside world. The breadth of exposure in these contacts is very limited. The consequence for most people appears to strengthen their conviction that the country is the best place for themselves and for their children. Finally, the only mass media to which most Indian ancestry people are regularly exposed is the radio, and the material they listen to is largely "rock and roll" and "country and western" music. This, we suspect, does provide an image of the outside world, and perhaps one which corroborates some of their own experience, but which does not contribute to a helpful or healthy orientation.

Our data suggest that one of the most pressing needs of the Indian ancestry subjects studied is for more effective sources of orientation to the outside world than most of them currently have.

FOOTNOTES

¹See for example William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959 and Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James C. Coleman, Union Democracy, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956.

²For a description of the Anomie Scale see Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries; an Exploration Study," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.



TOP : Many families in the Lac La Biche area are isolated from transportation and communication facilities.

BOTTOM: Opportunities for Indians off the Reserve are severely restricted by their lack of education.

CHAPTER X

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

The attitudes and values of people are a result of their childhood background and their later experience. Attitudes shape decisions and the ways in which people go about implementing decisions. The consequences of these implementations often tend to re-shape some of the attitudes which were the basis for the initial decisions and for the choice of implementing behavior.

We have seen that there are noteworthy differences in the backgrounds and life experience of subjects in the interview areas. To what extent have these differences given rise to differences in the attitudes and value orientations of subjects? More specifically, to what extent is there evidence that the lowest income group in our sample have a distinctive pattern of attitudes which sets them off from other members of our sample? The purpose of this chapter is to explore some possible associations between poverty and attitudes. Clear definition of such relationships would have significant implications for rehabilitation programs.

We have very little questionnaire data on this subject for Indians because most attitude questionnaire items are inappropriate for use with these subjects. The major difficulty, in addition to the obvious problem of keeping the vocabulary simple and understandable, is that most native subjects tend to think in highly concrete terms. Since most attitude items tend to be abstract and hypothetical, it is very difficult to get valid responses from native peoples. The brief discussion of attitudes and values of the Indian members of the sample is based on some questionnaire material that is relevant, and on impressions based on observations of behavior and informal discussion with native peoples.

The White Sample

Life Goals

Questionnaire data is available with respect to two aspects of attitudes and values. The first deals with life goals. The second deals more with implementing daily decisions which must be made constantly even though the life goal decisions remain unquestioned. In fact the dividing line between these two aspects is vague, but the distinction is helpful. We shall discuss first

the data available on life goals and second the information which we have on differences in approaches to goal implementation. Because of the detail of the material discussed in this chapter, it was not possible to prepare an adequate statistical summary table.

Attitudes toward Life Goals

Two items in the interview schedule are useful in giving insight into the life goals of subjects. These were: "Think of the things which are most important to you. Which three things on this card are the most important to you in the long run?"

making money and buying things
doing things for other people
keeping healthy and fit
politics or community affairs
religious activities
being liked and respected by others
being highly skilled in what I do
being a just and honest person
family ties and relationships
being independent and one's own boss

"If you had your choice, would you most like to be: independent, successful or well liked?"

The distribution of pooled first and second choice responses to the first question are found in Table 1 and their responses to the second item are found in Table 2. It is necessary to discuss these two tables jointly. It is relatively easy to equate the two since to be "independent" is included in both; "being liked and respected" is virtually synonymous with "well liked", and "successful" really means making money to most people.

It is clear from Table 1 that health is the most frequent concern of the total sample, considering both the first and second choices. The second most frequently mentioned first choice is "family ties," but this is so weakly represented among the second choices, falling in seventh rank, that it cannot be rated as the second ranking value. Because of the frequent mention of both "being just and honest" and "being liked and respected by others," it seems clear that another personal concern, personal reputation, is the second ranking value, while the third ranking value is family ties and relationships.

Independence and making money appear to come next, followed by altruistic considerations - doing things for other people, religious activities (worship of God) and involvement in politics or community affairs. It is re-

CHAPTER X - TABLE 1

VALUE CHOICES, WITH 1ST AND 2ND CHOICES POOLED, BY COMMUNITY

	<u>Dixonville</u>		<u>Blueberry</u>		<u>Niton</u>		<u>Innisfail</u>		<u>Total Farm</u>		<u>Drumheller</u>		<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders	Per cent Choosing	Rank Orders
Health	26.1	3	37.1	3	48.7	1	39.4	1	49.1	1	58.8	1	52.1	1	339	1
Liked and respected	32.9	1	41.4	1	26.0	3	28.4	2	31.1	3	34.9	2	32.5	2	211	2
Just and honest	32.8	2	38.4	2	29.4	2	27.5	3	31.5	2	16.0	6	26.6	3	173	3
Family	13.0	6	22.8	4	24.4	4	22.0	5	19.8	5	23.2	4	20.9	4	136	4
Money	15.7	5	10.0	8	17.6	6	15.6	6	15.3	6	23.7	3	18.0	5	117	5
Independence	19.2	4	12.8	5	23.5	5	24.7	4	20.7	4	7.3	8	16.5	6	107	6
Doing for others	3.4	10	1.4	10	9.2	8	15.6	7	7.6	9	19.4	5	11.4	7	68	7
Religious activity	10.3	8	11.4	7	12.6	7	12.9	8	11.7	7	6.7	9	10.1	8	66	8
Skilled	10.9	7	11.4	6	7.6	9	11.0	9	10.2	8	8.2	7	9.6	9	62	9
Community affairs	4.1	9	2.8	9	0.8	10	2.8	10	2.7	10	1.5	10	2.4	10	16	10

markable how little "being highly skilled in what I do" is valued.

There are some noteworthy differences in value rankings between the communities which become most clearly apparent when the first two choices are pooled. The non-farm sample differs from the farm sample in a number of respects. Members of the former mention "making money" much more frequently than any other; they separate popularity from reputation, as may be seen in the second place ranking of "being just and honest." They mention "doing things for others" more frequently, and "being independent" much less frequently than any other group.

An examination of the farming group shows that the two Peace River samples were distinctive in ranking reputation above health. Both Dixonville and Innisfail rank independence higher than family, and Dixonville ranks making money higher than family as well.

Several of these relationships are further emphasized by the data in Table 2. This shows subjects' choices between the values, being successful, being independent, and being well-liked. "Being well-liked" was chosen most frequently, "being independent" was chosen next most frequently, and "being successful" was chosen least often. More Drumheller residents preferred success to independence.

In summary it should be emphasized that there is a considerable consensus in the value identifications of the different sample groupings. The choices demonstrate that many values, health, reputation, family, independence, are more important to most of the study sample than success or making money. The data show that there are differences between subsamples, which do reflect differences in the life situations of the members. In the two areas where we have seen that interpersonal relationships are more distant, Niton and Drumheller, the wish for popularity is lower than in the other areas. In the most recently homesteaded area, Blueberry, where we have seen some indications of people making heroic efforts to get their farms well established, success was mentioned more frequently than in any other area.

CHAPTER X - TABLE 2

WHITE SUBJECTS INDICATING THEY WOULD MOST LIKE TO BE
INDEPENDENT, SUCCESSFUL OR WELL-LIKED, BY COMMUNITY

	SUCCESSFUL	INDEPENDENT	WELL-LIKED
Dixonville	19.1%	22.7%	58.2%
Blueberry	28.6	24.3	47.1
Niton	13.4	25.2	59.7
Innisfail	12.1	29.0	55.1
Total Farm	17.8	25.4	56.8
Drumheller	17.9	31.8	49.8
Total Sample No.	11.4	17.6	34.9
Total Sample %	17.8	27.4	54.8

Two items were included in the interview schedule to give some insight into the ways the sample members go about implementing their life purposes. The bases for selection of these items must be mentioned at this point.¹ A large number of studies have demonstrated consistently that there are significant differences in the ways that working class people make most of their everyday decisions. These differences exist in their time orientation--how much they emphasize saving for the future--their dedication to success and advancement, their interest in education, their conceptions of respectability, their passive acceptance of the environment or their activistic commitment to try to change it, the kind of relationships that they cultivate with other people and their dedication to work.² The contrasts between the middle class and the working class orientations in these areas are summarized in Table 3.

One of the two sets of items is the Protestant Ethic Scale, consisting of six items, which is designed to measure the extent of dedication to the value of work.³ In terms of Table 3, a dedicated approach to work is more characteristic of the middle class orientation. Sample items include: "If you had a great deal of money would you work as much as you do now?" "Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?" "If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?" Responses were "fairly strongly" or "not too strongly" about this.

The second set of items is a middle class orientation inventory, consisting of 22 items, which was devised for this study. Several items were taken from other sources and revised slightly for our purposes, and the rest were original items. All were pre-tested, revised and pre-tested again to eliminate ambiguity and to insure their appropriateness for the study samples.

In Table 4 are found the mean Protestant Ethic scores and the proportions of high and low scores of subjects, classified by community. The data show that the highest scores, that is, the greatest dedication to work, are found in Innisfail while the lowest scores are found in Niton and Drumheller. Subjects in the two Peace River samples fall between these extremes, but their scores are more similar to the Innisfail than to the Niton scores. The

CHAPTER X - TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF THE IDEAL TYPE VALUE ORIENTATION
OF THE MIDDLE AND OF THE LOWER CLASS

	<u>MIDDLE CLASS</u>	<u>LOWER CLASS</u>
Time Orientation	Oriented to the Future Deferred Gratification	Oriented to the Present Immediate Gratification
Ascription Versus Achievement	Achieved Status Success Status Advancement	Ascribed Status "Getting by" Subsistence Maintenance
Education	Value Education Viewed as Means and an End	Do not value Education Viewed as a Means
Respectability	Concerned with Respectability Value Repression	Not concerned with Respectability Value Expression
Manipulation of Environment	Change and control Environment	Accept Environment passively
Interpersonal Relationships	Individualistic Relationships	Collateral Relationships
Value of Work	Work as a Means to an End: Earnings a Livelihood	Work as an End in itself: Dedication to work

CHAPTER X - TABLE 4

*
MEAN PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY*

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total
Mean Scores	24.99	25.08	22.48	25.87	24.55	22.44	23.88
Number	145	71	118	108	442	208	650

* Based on six items, modified from items constructed by Benton Johnson, for the Comparative Value Project, National Institute of Mental Health, Grant No. 4309.R1, United States Government.

similarity of Niton to Drumheller residents is consistent with the fact that a high proportion of the former have wage employment. Low dedication to work is characteristic of wage workers whereas high dedication to work is more generally characteristic of self-employed farmers. A high proportion of the Blueberry subjects also have off-farm jobs, but their Protestant Ethic scores are second only to those of Innisfail subjects.

Tables 5 and 6 contain the mean scores and the proportion of low scores for the six areas of the Middle Class Orientation Inventory. The items are scored in such a way that a high score is indicative of a middle class orientation and a low score is indicative of a working class orientation.

Once again it is clear that the non-farm sample has scores characteristic of a working class orientation more frequently than the farm sample. Further, the mean scores for the subsamples show the same rank ordering as in the cases of the Protestant Ethic mean scores with the Drumheller sample having the lowest mean, the Innisfail sample the highest mean, and the Peace River samples intermediate, but closer to the latter than to the former. The only difference is that the Niton sample, rather than resembling the Drumheller sample, resembles the Innisfail sample. This same pattern is followed consistently in both Tables 5 and 6 for the value scores and the factor scores, with six exceptions. For the education value scores, the means show less endorsement by the Innisfail residents than by many of the other sample members. Finally, the activism value and the savings value scores again show a moderating of the extreme middle class position by the Innisfail residents in contrast to the other sample members.

The fact is that the most wealthy members of the sample in terms of capital wealth, the Innisfail residents, did not consistently subscribe to the "middle class line." There were four items of the 22-item scale to which Innisfail residents made the "working class" response more frequently than subjects from other areas. These four items were:

"In order to get along in the world, you have to look after your family and friends and let them look after you."

"A person is responsible only for himself and his wife and children and not for his other relatives."

"Money is made to spend, not to save or invest."

CHAPTER X - TABLE 5

MEAN MIDDLE CLASS ORIENTATION AREA
SCORES AND TOTAL SCORES, BY COMMUNITY

	<u>Saving for future</u>		<u>Success</u>		<u>Respectability</u>		<u>Education</u>		<u>Activism; Non Passivity</u>		<u>Relationships with Others</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Dixonville	144	13.42	144	11.95	144	8.70	146	12.94	143	5.60	140	4.62	146	56.22
Blueberry	67	14.15	67	12.05	68	9.26	67	13.14	67	5.82	66	4.15	65	57.53
Niton	120	14.85	119	13.88	119	8.42	120	13.20	119	5.80	119	4.45	120	58.20
Innisfail	107	13.83	105	12.63	107	9.12	107	12.78	104	6.01	105	4.41	108	58.30
Total Farm Sample	436	14.03	435	12.30	438	8.82	440	13.00	433	5.79	430	4.45	442	57.46
Drumheller	201	12.00	204	11.45	204	7.74	204	13.18	202	5.27	202	4.98	204	54.58
Total Sample	639	13.58	639	12.03	642	8.48	644	13.06	635	5.62	632	4.62	696	56.56

CHAPTER X - TABLE 6

TOTAL SCORES AND AREA SCORES OF THE MIDDLE CLASS
ORIENTATION INVENTORY, BY COMMUNITY

	<u>Dixonville</u>	<u>Blueberry</u>	<u>Niton</u>	<u>Innisfail</u>	<u>Total Farm</u>	<u>Drumheller</u>	<u>Total %</u>	<u>Total No.</u>
Success 4 and less	27.4	26.9	18.3	16.2	22.1	37.8	27.1	173
Respectability, 3 and less	45.0	49.3	33.5	34.3	40.0	54.9	44.8	286
Education 5 and less	26.1	29.1	33.6	27.1	27.5	35.8	29.9	192
Manipulation of Environment 4 and less	21.5	20.9	24.2	27.0	23.4	20.6	22.5	145
Interpersonal Relations 3 and less	18.9	20.9	16.0	14.4	17.3	23.8	19.4	123
Total Value Score 48 and less	32.2	42.4	36.2	27.6	32.5	24.3	30.7	194
Total Value Score 64-72	28.9	23.5	23.1	21.3	24.9	34.8	28.0	181
Mean Value Score	34.0	42.7	40.6	41.7	38.9	22.5	33.7	218
	56.22	57.46	58.20	56.30	57.46	54.58	56.56	646

"Education may be important, but lots of people get too carried away with it."

These apparently "discrepant" responses show, at least among the members of our Alberta sample, that the more prosperous members are more committed to "looking after" friends and relatives than the less prosperous ones. This may be because the Innisfail sample is definitely older than the other samples. Some 38.4 per cent are older than 55 years of age as compared with 17.9 per cent in the rest of the sample. The prosperous are more likely to say that money is made to spend, though 28 per cent of the 39 per cent who said so, gave distinctly qualified agreement. They more frequently said "lots of people get too carried away with education," although again 28 per cent of the 63 per cent who said so, qualified the agreement. Again, the age differences between the samples may be partly responsible for this pattern of responses.

In brief this analysis of apparently discrepant responses suggests (1) that the age differences between the Innisfail and the other samples may partially account for the unanticipated patterns, and (2) prosperous subjects who can afford to spend money somewhat less carefully, and do not have to choose between family and friends on the one hand and success on the other, may more frequently agree with some working class orientation statements.

It should be emphasized in conclusion that none of the discrepant responses were sufficiently general to lower the mean total scores of the Innisfail sample below those of the other samples. The data rather clearly show a relationship between attitudes and values and relative prosperity. The predominantly wage earning subjects of Drumheller show a stronger working class orientation than do the self-employed members of the farm sample. The residents of the poorer farm areas rather consistently show a stronger working class orientation than the residents of the more prosperous Innisfail area. One should not jump too quickly to conclusions about which is cause and which is effect. The experience of undeserved failure may drive some to an embittered "hard work doesn't pay" kind of working class-like orientation. Many whose success may owe much to blind luck may convince themselves that it was due to their own hard work, and make them yet more ardent preachers of the gospel of initiative, saving and hard

work.

Relationships Between Annual Income and the Value Indices

In this section we shall summarize the relationships between annual income and the indices of life goals and the mean orientations as bases of making implementing decisions, for the farm and the non-farm samples.

1. The Farm Sample

In Table 7 are found the proportion of each of the income groups which made responses indicating a preference for various life goals and various approaches to implementing these goal choices. The data show that there are sizable differences between the low and high income groups in both areas. High income groups, more often than low income groups, chose health and community activities as values, although the differences between them were not large. The middle income group, more often than either the low or the high groups, chose "being a just and honest person" as a first choice.

There were differences between the high and low income groups on virtually all of the areas of Middle Class Inventory, which were used to index approaches to implementing life goals. In all cases the scores of the low income group were lower than the high income group except for the personal relations values. In this area the high income farmers, more frequently than the low income, emphasized the importance of care and responsibility for family and friends, even at some price to success. In all of the other areas, the high income subjects emphasized the middle class orientation--saving for the future, the importance of success, respectability, education, and activism or non-passivity--more often than did the low income farmers. The high income group more often had a high total score on the Middle Class Orientation Inventory than did the low income group members.

It is remarkable that the high and low income group members both tended to score high on the Protestant Ethic score, and the middle class group tended to make low Protestant Ethic scores. We have no interpretation for this unexpected finding.

2. The Non-Farm Sample

A comparison of the pattern of relationships in Table 8 with those in Table 7 shows some rather interesting points of difference. In terms of life goals, "keeping healthy and fit" was more often mentioned by the low than the

CHAPTER X - TABLE 7

PROPORTIONS OF FARM SUBJECTS IN THREE INCOME GROUPS
MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO INDICATORS OF VALUE IDENTIFICATIONS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subjects mentioning health as first choice value	31.6%	29.1%	38.2%
Subjects mentioning politics and community activities as first choice value	3.6	3.4	10.9
Subjects mentioning religion as first choice value	14.0	8.5	5.5
Subjects mentioning being a just and honest person as first choice value	7.8	20.5	10.9
Subjects mentioning "independent" as first choice value	25.5	26.8	30.4
Subjects mentioning "well-liked" as first choice value	57.8	55.3	50.0
Subjects with low savings orientation scores under 6	40.7	36.6	30.5
Subjects with low success orientation scores under 5	46.2	36.3	35.1
Subjects with high respectability orientation scores over 5	21.9	16.3	35.6
Subjects with low education scores under 6	26.3	24.0	13.6
Subjects with low non-passivity scores under 5	39.6	45.9	56.1
Subjects with low personal relations scores under 5	44.2	49.2	55.4
Subjects with high total value scores over 56	33.8	35.7	55.9
Subjects with high Protestant ethics scores over 21	26.9	20.8	29.5

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER X - TABLE 8

PROPORTIONS OF NON-FARM SUBJECTS IN THREE INCOME GROUPS
MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES TO INDICATORS OF VALUE IDENTIFICATION

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subjects mentioning health as first choice value	43.6%	26.8%	27.1%
Subjects mentioning politics and community activities as first choice value	1.8	4.2	1.7
Subjects mentioning religion as first choice value	12.7	12.7	13.6
Subjects mentioning a just and honest person as first choice value	18.2	16.9	33.9
Subjects mentioning "independent" as first choice value	23.6	29.6	39.7
Subjects mentioning "well-liked" as first choice value	56.4	51.9	41.3
Subjects with low savings orientation scores under 6	60.8	56.0	37.5
Subjects with high success orientation scores over 5	34.6	24.7	31.3
Subjects with high respectability orientation scores over 4	25.0	35.1	31.2
Subjects with high education orientation scores over 7	21.2	23.4	35.9
Subjects with low non-passivity scores under 5	33.3	23.4	15.9
Subjects with high interpersonal relations scores over 5	24.0	31.2	37.5
Subjects with high Protestant ethics scores over 21	38.2	46.8	28.1
Subjects with low total value scores under 56	50.0	32.5	26.6

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

high income non-farm groups. This was just the reverse of the pattern among the farm sample members. "Being a just and honest person" was more often chosen as a value by high income I. D. 42 residents, as was "being independent." The low income residents often mentioned "being well-liked."

There were differences between the high and the low income non-farm groups in all but one of the items used to index approaches to implementing life goals, the single exception being the emphasis on success. The success scores of high and low income subjects were similar and distinctly higher than those of the middle income group. In all of the other component areas of the Middle Class Orientation Inventory, the high income groups scored higher than the low income groups. They more often emphasized a saving orientation, the value of respectability, of education, of activism or non-passivity, and unlike the farm sample members, they tended to emphasize success and personal advancement at the price of relationships with friends and relatives more than the low income group. The total Middle Class Orientation scores of the high income group were much higher on the average than those of the low income group.

It is remarkable that the high income group tended to have the lowest Protestant Ethic scores and the middle income group to have the highest. Since the Protestant Ethic items are designed to measure the extent to which subjects emphasize the importance of work beyond any other value, it appears clear that the highest income members of the sample in I. D. 42 place less emphasis on this than some of the lower income members. This is compatible with the reports of the lower income members that they receive more satisfaction from their work than they do from leisure activities.

Summary

In summary it is quite clear that there are significant value differences between the high and the low income groups of the farm and the non-farm samples. In both samples the higher income members tended more to emphasize independence while the lower income members emphasized the value of being well-liked. In the farm sample the higher income group emphasized health and community activity more frequently, while the lower class group more often emphasized religion. In the non-farm sample the lower income group

more often emphasized physical health, while the higher income group more often emphasized reputation.

In both samples the higher income group consistently scored higher in the Middle Class Orientation areas than the lower income group. The exception for the farm sample was the personal relationships area which was more emphasized by the higher than the lower income group. For the non-farm sample, the middle income group emphasized the success area less than the higher and lower income groups.

For the farm sample the highest income group made the highest Protestant Ethic scores whereas, for the non-farm sample, this group made the lowest Protestant Ethic scores. This apparently paradoxical pattern is in accord with other research findings which have shown that strong Protestant Ethic orientations are yet common on the farm where a man is his own boss and an entrepreneur.⁴ In the city, however, most people work for others, hard work is less likely to "pay off," and is more likely to earn one the enmity of one's fellows. In such bureaucratic work situations a more easy-going "get by" and "get along with one's fellow workers" ethic tends to replace the old Protestant Ethic.

The Indian Ancestry Sample

No value measurement items were included in the Indian ancestry interview schedule because it is difficult to obtain valid answers to such items since they usually seem silly and irrelevant to Indian subjects. From the information collected by the research assistants during their periods of living on the Kikino Colony and the Saddle Lake Reserve, through daily talking with people and observing their behavior in these areas, it is possible to say some things about the value identifications of the Indian ancestry sample. We shall organize the discussion in terms of the six component areas of the Middle Class Orientation Inventory.

Time Orientation: Saving for the Future

The cultural past and the current impoverishment of most Indian ancestry subjects gives them little basis for hoping to save for the future. The research assistant who lived at Kikino reports, in Appendix E, that there is a significant minority on that colony who are striving to become "self-sufficient" through saving to own the means of their own livelihood. Such men are

working very hard and saving every cent that they can, to acquire farm equipment or a herd of cattle. They refused to be discouraged though the years pass and they have very little accumulated to show for their effort and sacrifice. These men are in the minority; that there are some shows that Indians and Metis have internalized the middle class value of saving for the future.

Success

Little need be added to the previous paragraph in regard to success. The current situation of most Indian ancestry people in this province make the prospect of their trying to strive for "success," in the sense of a middle class standard of living, absurd. There are in the Kikino Colony those striving to be self-sufficient, and others striving to be self-supporting, and this suggests that there are many who are striving for "advancement" which is a common conception of success. There is some internalization of the success value in the Indian ancestry settlements which we studied.

Respectability

We have very little information concerning people's attitudes toward the middle class respectability value. It is clear that the incidence of illegitimacy among the people in the Indian ancestry areas is high, though we did not collect data systematically on this subject. We do not know how much covert shame and protest there may be against this on the part of a minority.

Education

The data reported in Chapter VI show that there is a very strong verbal commitment to the value of education. There is a possibility that the Indians and Metis who were interviewed knew that these were the answers they "were supposed" to give to these questions, but we doubt it. There were too many evidences of the hardships which people endured to help their children go to school for this to be the case, as Chapter VII in Appendix E shows. But it should not be expected that very many of the children of those interviewed will complete high school. The retardations that they must overcome, the isolation in the school that they experience, the lack of understanding that they feel from school personnel, as well as the unwillingness of most parents to pressure them into continuation, will cause most of them to drop out.

Activism or Non-Passivity

Little can be added to the discussions of Saving for the Future and Success. The traditional hunting-fishing-gathering subsistence of the Indian made for a certain amount of passivity and stoicism. If there was no game, all one could do was to accept the fact. The abject poverty of most subjects in the Indian samples, and extent to which it is impossible to "get ahead" if one is an ill-educated Indian in this society, likewise make for passivity. There is a sizable minority, those with "self-sufficient" and "self-supporting" orientations, who are clearly activistic, and the increasing tendency of Indians in the province to protest their situation suggests a mounting activism.

Emphasis of Personal Relationships

We have many indications of the extent to which the Indian ancestry subjects in our sample are committed to the perpetuation of close relationships with relatives and fellow community members. This is one of the strong reasons for the refusal of most of the samples to consider moving to the city. There is little evidence of very rapid erosion of this value. If there is to be very significant improvement in the standard of living of the Indian ancestry members of this province, it is going to have to be a general improvement. There is little basis for expecting that the improvement will come through the very frequent breaking away of individuals and families from their home communities and then upgrading themselves.

Summary

In sum, there is definite evidence of the penetration of Indian ancestry settlements by white middle class values. Education is currently the most strongly verbalized value. The obstacles to significant educational achievement which Indian youngsters encounter will ensure that the general educational level of Indian ancestry people will remain at the low level for some time. The emphasis on inter-personal relationships is the value which currently appears to show the least change toward the middle class position. Perhaps it is heavily sustained by the fear of the unknown which the city represents. Similarly, there are few indications in the arrest statistics, and the illegitimacy statistics of the province, that there is any increasing adherence to the value of respectability in regard to sex and non-violent behavior.

There are signs of increasing emphasis on saving for the future, success in the sense of advancement and activism on the part of a minority people in the areas we studied.

FOOTNOTES

¹ See Appendix G for a detailed discussion of the methodology and the findings of this aspect of the research.

² See, for example, Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1953 , especially pp. 186-216 and Thomas E. Casswell, Class and Stratum, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965, especially Part IV.

³ These items were modified from items constructed by Benton Johnson for the Comparative Value Project, National Institute of Mental Health, Grant No. 4309-R1, United States Government.

⁴ See, for example, Daniel R. Miller and Gay E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958 , especially Chapters 2 and 4, and Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Anchor Books, 1963 .

CHAPTER XI

ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION

The task which remains to be done, in this final data chapter, is to give an assessment of the situations of the sample members as they experience them. We shall do this by summarizing what we know of their sources of satisfaction and sources of dissatisfaction. During the course of the discussion we shall have occasion to cite some of the data mentioned earlier in this report. Following this we shall present information on what subjects feel the government could and should do to help solve these difficulties.

The White Samples

Sources of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction

Table 1 presents data which are indicative of the relative satisfaction of subjects interviewed, by community. There are inconsistencies among the data, but they definitely point to rather high levels of satisfaction in the areas studied. The possible exception is Drumheller. Almost ninety per cent of the farm sample answered the question: "How well satisfied are you with your life here?" by saying that they were well satisfied or adequately satisfied. The differences between communities are small. The proportion of Innisfail subjects making these responses is only slightly higher--about eight per cent--than the proportion of subjects from poorer areas. Over three-fourths of the farm sample and sixty-nine per cent of the Drumheller sample members who had moved into the area where they were at the time of interview, said that they would definitely do so again if they had it to do over. Of the farm samples members, those in Dixonville were least likely to make this response and those in Blueberry Mountain and Innisfail were more likely to. These differences should not blur the fact that in all areas almost seventy per cent were satisfied with their move; most indicated that they were contented where they were.

In response to the question "How well would you say that you are doing. . . ?", almost half, 49.4 per cent, of the farmers in the three poorer areas said they were doing quite well, very well or promisingly, while the

CHAPTER XI - TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON SATISFACTION AND
PROSPECTS FOR WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	Dixonville	Blueberry	Niton	Innisfail	Total Farm	Drumheller	Total %	Total No.
Subject is well satisfied or adequately satisfied with life as it is	83.8%	86.7%	86.9%	93.5%	87.6%	Not Available	87.5%	379
Subjects who had moved into the area who would definitely move there again	69.1	79.3	73.5	84.5	75.6	69.0	74.8	332
Subject feels he is doing quite well, very well or promisingly	47.2	45.1	54.9	71.3	54.9	Not Available	54.8	238
Subjects who would like to live elsewhere	16.5	18.3	15.0	0.9	12.9	33.6	19.6	128
Subjects who would not advise their children to stay in the area	36.5	19.3	23.8	5.2	18.0	54.9	31.4	176
Most of subject's brothers and sisters are doing better financially than he	34.1	59.1	60.2	29.6	45.7	49.6	45.5	187
No problems	13.5	17.9	26.6	27.8	21.2	Not Available	21.2	90
Subject held back by external circumstances	53.9	49.3	17.4	26.9	36.9	Not Available	36.9	157
Subject held back by poor health and medical expenses	12.1	13.4	33.0	8.3	16.7	Not Available	16.7	71
Subject held back by having no capital to get started	14.2	17.9	21.1	25.9	19.5	Not Available	19.5	83
Subject would like to move	23.7	20.0	24.2	18.2	21.8	35.3	26.1	168
Subject wants to move to better facilities	25.8	11.1	11.5	26.3	20.0	15.7	18.1	28
Subject wants to move to better financial opportunities, land or jobs	29.0	22.2	26.9	26.3	27.0	61.4	42.6	66
Subject feels it is very or quite important to raise children on farm	68.1	69.0	60.3	71.5	67.0	Not Relevant	66.9	257
No satisfaction from work "just the money"	8.6	9.4	7.0	3.8	6.9	35.6	14.3	81
No satisfaction from work, pride in work well done	32.4	25.0	35.6	25.0	30.3	14.4	26.2	149
Satisfaction from work, independence and privacy	16.1	28.1	13.0	49.2	20.6	6.2	16.9	96

proportion in Innisfail was 71.9 per cent. It is also clear from our data that from some perspectives almost half of the sample must be quite dissatisfied with their progress in "getting ahead." Subjects were asked "How many of your brothers and married sisters would you say are succeeding or prospering about as well as you are, how many are prospering more than you are and which ones are prospering less well than you are?" The data in the table show that 46 per cent of the farmers and 50 per cent of the Drumheller residents reported that a majority of their brothers and married sisters were prospering more than they. As we would expect from what we know of the area, this proportion was low in Innisfail and Dixonville, but it was about sixty per cent in Blueberry Mountain and Niton.

In order to discover what hindrances to more rapid progress farmers had encountered, we asked them: "Have you had any particular problems or handicaps, or troubles that have held you back from getting ahead as well as you otherwise would have?" The data in Table 1 show that only one-fifth reported no problems. Subjects making this response came most frequently from Innisfail and Niton. The most frequently mentioned problem, cited by over one-half of the Peace River farmers, was external circumstances, i.e., flood, drought and diseased animals. Only seventeen per cent of Niton farmers mentioned this problem, but one-third did mention poor health and medical expenses. Fewer than one-sixth of the respondents in any other area mentioned health problems. One-fifth of the respondents reported "no capital to get started" as a problem. It is noteworthy that this problem of capital was most frequently mentioned by the farmers in the prosperous Innisfail area.

The proportion of subjects who indicated that they would like to move was small, 21.8 per cent of the farmers and 35.3 per cent of the non-farm subjects. The figures in the Table show that one-fifth of the farmers who wanted to move were seeking better living facilities and, in some cases, retirement facilities. These farmers were concentrated in Dixonville and Innisfail. However, 27 per cent of the farmers and 61 per cent of the Drumheller respondents who wanted to move were seeking better financial opportunities.

Another source of satisfaction to members of the farm sample is seen in their answers to the question: "Is it important to you that your children

grow up on a farm?" The data in the Table show that two-thirds of the farm respondents said they felt this was "very important" or "quite important." There were few differences between communities; only the Niton residents made these responses somewhat less frequently.

It seems clear from the above that most of the farm subjects were quite adequately satisfied with the areas. Higher proportions were dissatisfied in the Drumheller area, but even here they were in the minority.

Another source of information on the relative satisfaction of subjects is found in their answers to the questions: "What satisfaction do you get from your work?" "What do you like about it?" Some of the responses to these questions are found in Table 1. Those who were most dissatisfied with their work answered "no satisfaction" or "just the money." Only about eight per cent of the farmers in the poorer areas made either of these responses, but 35.6 per cent of the Drumheller respondents made them. All others who responded to this question mentioned some one or more source of satisfaction. The most frequent were "pride in work well done," or "a farm well run," and the independence and freedom which the farm provides. Both of these were rather frequently mentioned by farmers but quite infrequently by the Drumheller respondents. Clearly, the work in which they were engaged was a source of more satisfaction to the farm sample members than to the non-farm members. This was the case even though it provided them with less income.

Suggested Improvements and Services the Government Might Provide

At the end of the interview subjects were asked two questions dealing with changes which they would like to see initiated by the government. "Are there any improvements that you would like to see the government provide in this area?" and "Are there any services you would like to see the government provide in this area?" Table 2 gives a tabulation of the respondents' answers to these questions. Before discussing them we should note the poor quality of the responses to these questions. Subjects were aware that the study was commissioned by the Provincial Cabinet, and that the report which would be forthcoming would be read by Cabinet Ministers. It seems surprising that about 22 per cent could think of no improvements

CHAPTER XI - TABLE 2

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS AND SERVICES NEEDED
MADE BY WHITE SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY COMMUNITY

	<u>Dixonville</u>	<u>Blueberry</u>	<u>Milton</u>	<u>Innisfail</u>	<u>Total Farm</u>	<u>Drumheller</u>	<u>Total %</u>	<u>Total No.</u>
Subjects making two or more suggestions	34.3	50.7	47.4	50.5	44.5	20.5	37.1	232
Government improvements needed: none	14.9	16.4	14.4	22.9	16.9	32.3	21.7	136
Government improvements needed: roads and bridges	60.4	61.2	42.4	24.8	46.6	23.6	39.5	247
Government improvements needed: financial. help lower prices, lower taxes, bring in more jobs	9.2	7.5	11.0	32.4	15.1	24.1	17.9	112
Government services needed: none	59.5	43.1	67.0	62.4	59.7	54.1	57.9	353
Government services needed: utilities, water, natural gas, electricity, telephones, mail	29.1	43.1	13.9	5.0	21.0	39.8	27.0	165

to be made through governmental initiative, and only 37 per cent could think of as many as two improvements. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents had no suggestions of services which they would like to see the government provide in the area. Drumheller residents most often made no suggestions. Given the needs of many of the areas in which subjects lived, this seems to be reflective of apathy. An unusually large proportion of Innisfail respondents mentioned no improvements needed, quite possibly because their area in fact needs few improvements. A large proportion of Innisfail and Niton subjects mentioned no services needed.

Table 2 shows that the most commonly mentioned needed improvement had to do with roads and bridges. This was mentioned by almost two-thirds of the Peace River farmers, 42 per cent of the Niton residents, and by one-fourth of the Innisfail and Drumheller residents. The most frequently mentioned was financial measures such as work to lower prices, taxes and bring in more jobs. These suggestions were made by one-third of Innisfail subjects, and one-fourth of Drumheller subjects. Major land improvements, i.e., clearing land for homesteaders, provision of community pastures, and damming the river to prevent flooding, improvements in education, and provision of public facilities such as skating rinks, picnic grounds, and post offices were mentioned by about six per cent of the respondents. The first suggestion was mentioned most frequently in Niton, by eighteen per cent of the people. The second was made by twelve per cent of Blueberry Mountain respondents, and the third was made by eleven per cent of Drumheller residents.

The most frequent request for new government services involved utilities such as water, natural gas, electricity and telephones. These requests were made by almost half (43.0 per cent) of Blueberry Mountain residents, but also by 29 per cent of Dixonville and 40 per cent of Drumheller residents. The most frequent suggestion, made primarily by Niton (11.3 per cent) and Blueberry Mountain (9.2 per cent) residents was for economic and financial measures. These suggestions included easier arrangements for borrowing money and reductions in costs of installing utilities. A high proportion of Innisfail residents (12 per cent) requested better agricultural services, including not only crop and hail insurance, but also weed control and digging wells.

Relationships Between Annual Income and Satisfaction and Dissatisfactions

In this section we shall look at the relationships which exist between level of income and the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of the farm and non-farm samples.

1. The Farm Sample

In Table 3 are found the proportions of the three farm income groups which made responses to the items indicative of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Some of these data were already considered in Chapter V so we need only remind the reader that the high income subjects were better satisfied with the area than the low income subjects. They also less often feel that their brothers and married sisters are "getting ahead" better than they.

The data in the table show that the high income farmers derived more satisfaction from their work than did the low income farmers. They more often reported that it gave them an opportunity to be creative and to use their own ideas. They less often said that it merely gave them something to do or enabled them to support their families.

There were virtually no differences between the farm income groups on suggestions for government improvements and services. There was a slight tendency for the low income farmers to more often mention innovations in the financial area, and high income farmers to more often mention the extension of utilities.

2. The Non-Farm Sample

The pattern of relationships between the level of income and expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction found in Table 4 is very similar to that for the farm sample. The higher income group was better satisfied with the area, less likely to advise their children to leave the area, and less likely to feel that their brothers and married sisters were "getting ahead" better than they.

As in the case of the farmers, the high income non-farm group said that they received more satisfaction from their work than the low income group. They more often mentioned enjoying meeting people in connection with their work, while the low income group more often said that their work enabled them to provide for their families.

CHAPTER XI - TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
INDICATIVE OF SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Less than fully satisfied with life on their farm	61.4%	49.2%	39.0%
Subjects who had moved into the area who would probably or definitely come again	82.0	81.9	85.2
Respondents feel they are doing promisingly on farm	13.9	13.0	28.3
Respondents feel they are doing poorly on the farm	31.6	22.0	8.3
Mention no problems as obstacles to progress	20.4	22.5	27.6
Mention problems as obstacles to progress	22.3	14.2	5.2
Mention problems in raising capital as obstacles to progress	16.0	24.2	22.4
Subjects who would like to leave the farm	23.9	15.8	28.3
Reasons for wanting to move - health	23.9	5.6	7.7
Reasons for wanting to move - better opportunity	21.7	16.7	30.8
Subjects feel it is very important to raise children on the farm	23.7	23.2	31.5
All or most of siblings are getting ahead better than they	51.8	40.2	23.7
Satisfaction from work "It keeps me busy - something to do"	12.0	15.5	4.3
Satisfaction from work "I have to provide for my family"	17.3	13.8	8.7
Satisfaction from work "It is creative and lets me use my own ideas"	20.0	27.6	30.4
No government initiated improvements mentioned	15.8	20.8	17.5
Government initiated improvements needed in roads and bridges	43.8	49.2	40.4
Government initiated improvements needed in financial area, prices, jobs, etc.	13.3	8.2	7.0
Government initiated services needed "none"	60.8	58.5	54.5
Government initiated services needed "utilities, water, gas, electricity"	19.6	17.8	27.3
Subjects who would like to live elsewhere	16.1	10.6	4.9
Subjects who would not advise their children to remain in this area	24.0	16.8	7.5

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

CHAPTER XI - TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF NON-FARM SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING SELECTED RESPONSES
INDICATIVE OF SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION, BY INCOME GROUPS

	INCOME		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH*
Subjects who had moved into the area who would probably or definitely again move to Drumheller	60.0%	81.8%	88.2%
Would like to leave Drumheller	44.6	28.3	34.4
Mention financial reasons for wanting to leave	59.1	40.7	42.1
Mention facilities as reason for wanting to leave	4.5	18.5	21.1
Subjects would like to live elsewhere	37.5	34.2	23.4
Subjects who would not advise their children to remain in I.D. 42	56.1	65.7	44.3
All or most siblings are getting ahead better than they	60.6	48.6	41.6
Satisfaction from work "I like meeting people"	14.3	17.9	30.0
Satisfaction from work "I have to provide for my family"	38.1	48.7	33.3
Government initiated improvements needed "none"	30.0	34.7	28.8
Government initiated improvements needed "more industrial jobs"	24.0	12.0	16.9
Government initiated improvements needed "roads, bridges, sidewalks"	20.0	26.7	22.0
Government initiated improvements needed "more community recreation facilities"	8.0	10.7	16.9
Government initiated services needed "none"	66.7	50.7	47.5
Government initiated services needed "utilities, water, gas, electricity"	27.5	38.7	50.8

*Total annual family incomes in 1965 were under \$2,000 in the low income group, between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in the medium income group, and \$4,000 or more in the high income group.

There were also differences in suggestions of needed improvements and services between the high and low income groups in the I. D. 42 sample. The low income group more often mentioned the need to attract industry to the area in order to provide jobs than did the two higher income groups. The high income groups more often suggested the need for more community recreational facilities in the area. Far fewer of the low than the high income group bothered to mention needed services, a reflection of their apathy. Almost all who did mention needed services, which thus included a preponderance of high income members, mentioned the need for utilities in the area.

3. Summary

The data show more satisfaction on the part of high income than of low income subjects, in both the farm and the non-farm areas. The former were more satisfied with the area, with their progress, and with the kind of work that they were doing than the low income groups. Both groups had suggestions for needed improvements and services in the area. The low income groups more frequently mentioned steps that would improve their financial situation, such as the lowering of prices and the attraction of more jobs to the area. The high income groups in both samples, on the other hand, mentioned steps that would make life more comfortable. Specifically, the farm sample members mentioned the extension of utilities, services, including water, natural gas and electricity, and in the non-farm sample mentioned the provision of more recreational facilities in the area. A sizable number in all groups mentioned the need for improvements in roads and bridges and in I. D. 42 the building of sidewalks was often mentioned.

The Indian Ancestry Sample

A discussion of the plans and the perceived problems of the Indian ancestry sample is perhaps one of the most difficult sections to write. We have seen that most of the members of the study sample have few concrete future plans. The most basic reason is that their situation does not permit the making of many plans because planning presumes having the resources to carry out the plans. Most of the families do not have such resources. Their situation is a dependent one rather than an independent one. They can do this, or that, if various white authorities provide the implementing means.

The prospect that these will not be provided, or will only be provided after an indefinite delay, militates against much involvement in plans that are made.

The discussion of problems as perceived by members of the sample is also difficult. The difference between a problem and a condition of existence is whether or not something can probably be done to change the condition. The concept of problem is in fact a product of Western man's activist orientation. If he does not like certain things about his world he will change it to suit himself. This conception is foreign to the more indigenously Indian conception of adapting oneself to the world as one finds it. Indeed the poor generally must be oriented toward adapting to, rather than remaking, their world. Thus Indians are most likely to feel that conditions are problems when they have been told by whites often enough that they are problems.

Four conditions will be discussed which are common in Indian and Metis settlements. These are commonly defined as problems by whites who are aware of them, and are increasingly defined as problems by the residents themselves. These problems are the use of alcohol, the water supply, transportation and communication, and housing. For a more adequate discussion of all of these problems and the inter-relationships which often exist between them, the reader should consult Appendices E and F. A summary of the relevant statistical information which is available is found in Table 5.

Use of Alcohol

It is surprising to many whites that Indians commonly view the use of alcohol by other Indians as a problem, but this is clearly revealed by our data. Thirty per cent of the Lac La Biche sample were against drinking in any form, while 64 per cent said that drinking in moderation was all right. Thirty-eight per cent of the Saddle Lake sample were against drinking and 52 per cent said they were in favor. The reasons most commonly cited for opposition to drinking were the drunken driving, reckless spending, and the deprivation of children of necessities which results. Alcoholics Anonymous chapters are active in all of the Indian and Metis interview areas, and there are signs that the Indians are seeking to make an attack on this problem. The strength of opposition to the drinking problem in most of these areas appears to ensure that these efforts will continue unabated.

CHAPTER XI - TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION RELATING TO PROBLEMS
IN INDIAN ANCESTRY AREAS

	Number	%	Total No. Of Replies
Against or strongly against drinking alcohol	34	30.4	112
Not against drinking in moderation	72	64.3	112
"Having a good time often is okay"	6	5.4	112
Saddle Lake - in favor of drinking alcohol	50	52.1	96
Saddle Lake - against drinking alcohol	36	37.5	96
Saddle Lake - should be allowed to drink (unqualified)	2	3.2	63
Saddle Lake - should be allowed to drink (qualified)	41	65.1	63
Saddle Lake - should not be allowed to drink alcohol	17	26.9	63
Water obtained from a slough or creek only	23	23.2	99
Families $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from water supply	40	40.4	99
Families over 1 mile from water supply	8	8.0	99

The Water Supply

There is no evidence that very many of the people in the study areas saw the water supply as a problem although there is no doubt that many of them were inconvenienced by it. It constitutes a problem from white perspectives in two ways: it is often a menace to health, and it is often a heavy drain on family finances. Considerable information is presented in Appendix E on the extent of contamination of water used by residents of the Kikino Colony. It is clear from the evidence that some of the sources of water used are clearly contaminated, and much of the rest is of questionable potability. Laboratory analyses of the sources of water used on the Saddle Lake Reserve were not available but 23 per cent of the respondents reported use of water from sloughs or creeks.

Water constitutes an expense because of the distance which many Indian people live from a water supply. Almost one-half, 48 per cent, live more than a quarter of a mile from water. Families which are more removed from the supply and which do not have their own transportation, must pay to have water hauled to them. The price of \$1.00 for a forty-gallon barrel is a standard one in most areas. This price is very much higher than city residents have to pay, and one which these people can ill-afford to pay.

Transportation and Communication

There is little need to add to the discussion found in Chapter IX other than to underscore the consequences of deficiencies in transportation and communication. If subjects are able to improve the rather abject conditions under which they are currently living, they must be able to take advantage of opportunities existing outside of the communities in which they now live. If they are to do so they must hear of these opportunities. Currently, for large numbers of the residents of the study areas, the probabilities that they will be able to communicate back to the proper people are slim. Existing resources for the mitigation of poverty are rendered inoperative. Transportation and communication difficulties aggravate health problems in Indian and Metis settlements. They aggravate impoverishment by forcing people to purchase in local stores, where prices are higher, or to pay very heavy transportation costs, or both. (See Appendix E) They cause wasted time, apathy and perhaps despair as people who cannot telephone or write

in for appointments--because there is no telephone, and mail is only delivered once a week--arrive in town to seek medical aid, employment, or welfare officials. They often find that the man is not in the office that day or that they must wait hours for others who did make appointments.

Solution of some of the transportation and communication problems of Indian ancestry settlements is a necessary first step toward the solution of the other basic problems in these settlements.

Housing

Data presented in Chapter VI and in Appendices E and F show that the crowded and low quality housing is a problem in all of the areas studied. Because this is one of the most obvious of the problems which may be seen in any Indian or Metis settlement--open to the passing newspaper photographer--there are a number of housing programs to provide improved facilities. The housing which is provided is small and inexpensive. Most of the houses in which subjects on the Saddle Lake Reserve live were built under these programs, but they are overcrowded and often in disrepair. It is our contention that although the minimal shelter needs of people must be met, the solution of the "housing problems of Indians" will only come about through indirect attacks on it, which seek to reduce the number of children per family and to raise the annual earnings of family heads. The former is important to reduce the overcrowding and financial drain on the family with so many mouths to feed and bodies to clothe. The latter is important to enable people to make a personal investment in their living quarters so that they have the reason and the resources for maintaining their homes.

Summary

This is a scandalously brief resume of problems in Indian and Metis settlements in Alberta today. As we have noted, more adequate accounts of problems and recommendations of steps to be taken toward their solution are found in Appendices E and F. We cannot stop before noting the inter-related nature of the problems we have mentioned. However, the need is to avoid quick and superficial solutions which may "backfire." Contaminated water tends to cause illness and infections which debilitate people and make them irregular, tired or apathetic workers. Inadequate communication and

transportation facilities tend to deprive people of more steady and better paying employment which may be available. Seasonal and low-paying employment causes low family earnings which in turn result in inadequate housing and often in inadequate diet which may, in turn, cause higher incidence of disease. The inadequate housing may be improved through governmental effort, but the occupant is prone to feel little responsible ownership for it. All of these tend to contribute to a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority to whites which is aggravated by the feeling which whites have toward Indians. These feelings of inadequacy and inferiority may often lead to heavy drinking as a compensation. The heavy drinking in turn completes the vicious circle causing either directly or indirectly more health problems, more employment problems, more income problems and perhaps damage to the house.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the rehabilitation programs which are planned must be based on helping the Indian or Metis to help himself. In this way he can gain a solid feeling of achievement and self-respect from what is accomplished. When whites come in and impose a solution to the problem, the problem may in fact be solved, but the ability of Indians to cope with future problems is likely to be weakened thereby. It can only strengthen the Indians' feelings of impotence and their fearful unwillingness to try to make any improvements without white guidance and white financial support. It is not too strong to say that the only "improvement" that can have continuing effect must be self-involved improvement.



TOP : Many families in the Drumheller Valley are forced to live in houses such as this because of a lack of adequate housing in the city.

BOTTOM: Interior view of house near Dixonville.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In a summary only the most prominent findings of a report can be presented. The details which fill out the picture must be eliminated. It is hoped that this summary will not be used by most readers as a substitute for reading the entire report. A fuller understanding of the situations of people in the areas which we have studied can only be obtained from reading the body of the report, and from reading the individual area studies which are included as appendices to this report.

The Sources of Data

This report is based on analysis of 919 formal interviews with members of 627 households in seven different study areas. Two hundred and fifty-two interviews were with people of Indian ancestry, 150 in Metis communities around Lac La Biche, and 102 on the Saddle Lake Indian Reserve. Of the 667 interviews with white subjects, 455 were with subjects in farming areas. Three hundred and forty-three were with subjects in three poorer farming areas; Blueberry Mountain and Dixonville--both in the Peace River country--and Niton, which lies 120 miles due west of Edmonton. One hundred and twelve interviews were held with subjects in a prosperous farming area surrounding the town of Innisfail, in order to provide a comparison with the poorer areas. In addition to the farm samples a rural non-farm sample was drawn from I. D. 42 surrounding the city of Drumheller. Two hundred and twelve interviews were held with members of 130 families in this area.

In addition to the formal interviews, a large number of informal interviews were held with community leaders and officials in the seven study areas. A considerable amount of information was drawn from a wide variety of published bulletins and reports. Most of this information has been used in the reports on the individual research areas which comprise Appendices A through G. In the remainder of this chapter we shall present and discuss a summary of some of the major poverty indicators of the white and Indian ancestry samples.

Indications of Poverty: The White Sample

A summary of the findings for the farm and the non-farm samples is presented in a listing of factors associated with poverty in the community. This listing is found in Table 1 for the farm and non-farm samples.

The two most striking indications of poverty found in the table are the income and housing information. A majority of farm families reported less than \$2,000 net family income for 1965, and 29 per cent of the non-farm families reported under \$3,000, which is certainly a substandard income for those without farm subsistence resources. The proportion of the total sample which had received social allowance payments during the previous year was very small, eleven per cent; of these 22 per cent were in the non-farm sample.

The housing data show that the amount and quality of housing possessed by a sizable minority of the subjects interviewed was low. About one out of six subjects lived in houses having no more than three rooms. More than one-fourth had a density of more than one person per room, a majority lacked central heating, and two-thirds did not have bathroom facilities.

In the area of illness and death we expected to find a much higher incidence among the members of the white sample than we did. We noted in the discussion in Chapter VII that there was probably considerable under-reporting of illness, with most people taking the narrow definition of illness as having seen a doctor. Our best index of frequency of illness is the proportion of families having contacted a physician for health reasons during the previous year. Less than half the sample reported that their families had such contacts. The low rate of childhood deaths in the samples also came as a surprise. It was noted in Chapter VII that in the farm areas where the rate was higher there were no differences between the high and low income farmers in incidence of death of children under twelve years. Childhood deaths are associated with isolation of residence, but they are not associated with poverty, according to our data.

No less than thirty per cent of the total sample, including 37 per cent of the farm sample, reported having no medical insurance coverage. The incidence of those reporting that they had difficulty paying their medical bills

ASPECTS OF POVERTY BY FARM AND NON-FARM WHITE SAMPLES

	Farm Sample		Non-Farm		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Income						
1965 annual family income under \$2,000	214	52.5	28	14.0	242	39.6
1965 annual family income under \$3,000	297	72.3	58	29.0	355	58.1
Receipt of Social Assistance						
received social assistance during last year	15	3.3	22	10.4	37	5.5
received social assistance ever	27	5.9	46	21.7	73	10.9
Housing						
houses with no more than 3 rooms	42	18.6	9	7.9	51	14.9
houses with low Edward's scores (under 11)	26	11.1	4	3.6	30	8.5
houses with no bathroom	150	42.4	82	72.6	232	67.1
houses with no central heating system	149	43.7	77	23.9	226	51.6
housing density of more than 1 person per room	58	25.8	32	28.3	90	26.7
Health						
families reporting no ailments in 1965	117	47.4	76	59.4	193	51.2
families reporting contacts with M.O.'s in 1965	128	51.8	51	39.8	179	47.7
families reporting difficulties in paying medical bills	37	11.6	18	19.4	55	13.4
families reporting one or more deaths of a child under 2 years	59	24.6	20	18.7	79	22.8
families reporting no medical insurance	165	36.7	33	16.0	198	30.2
subjects reporting an interfering health problem with daily activity	93	20.9	43	20.9	136	20.9
Education						
subjects with 8 or less years of school	220	48.9	100	47.6	320	48.5
sons who have left school with 8 or less years of it	36	43.9	5	19.2	41	38.0
daughters who have left school with 9 or less years of it	16	20.5	4	11.2	20	17.5
Community						
no close friends or one close friend	62	14.2	32	15.9	94	14.7

CHAPTER XII - TABLE 1 - (page 2)
ASPECTS OF POVERTY BY FARM AND NON-FARM WHITE SAMPLES

	Farm Sample No.	%	Non-Farm No.	%	Total No.	%
Participation						
	160	35.7	153	72.9	313	47.6
	139	31.0	38	18.4	177	27.1
Sources of Information						
	150	55.5	38	23.9	188	43.1
	32	12.1	49	30.2	76	17.8
	116	26.0	69	34.5	185	25.3
Apathetic Despair						
	91	20.9	61	29.2	152	23.6
	173	39.6	46	23.0	219	34.5
Identification of Poor People						
	241	56.4	149	65.0	390	61.6
	18	4.2	19	9.2	37	5.8
Conceptions of Poverty						
	77	36.7	41	39.8	118	37.7
	69	32.8	40	38.9	109	34.8
	105	50.2	61	45.2	166	48.3
Poverty as Comparative Advancement						
	134	45.7	53	49.6	187	45.5
	86	29.4	41	38.3	127	30.9

was low, 13.4 per cent. The greatest proportion of these were non-farm sample members who had medical insurance more often than did the farm sample members.

A majority of subjects in the sample had at least eight years of education. Their sons and daughters will have completed significantly more years of schooling from what one can conclude on the basis of the years of schooling completed by those who have dropped out. The data show that a rather high proportion of the farm boys dropped out prior to grade nine, but the proportion was surprisingly small in the non-farm sample, 19 per cent. The educational attainments of the daughters of sample members who have left school were even higher. It is clear, from data discussed in Chapter VI, that many have left their home districts and moved to towns or cities in search of work, especially from the poorer areas of the study. Thus there is little reason for fearing that there is "inbreeding of poverty" in the areas studied. Rather, our data show that in the rural slum areas of I. D. 42 the educational attainments of the subjects' mature offspring are at a high level, and the younger generation are leaving the poorer farming areas in much higher numbers than in the prosperous farm area studied.

One of the most interesting findings is the close relationship between adequacy of income and community participation in the farming areas studied. It was demonstrated quite clearly in Chapter VIII that there was less community participation and involvement in the poorer areas than there was in the more prosperous areas. The data in Table 1 show that organizational membership is very much less frequent in the non-farm than in the farm sample.

Another interesting finding is the relationship between the prosperity of the area, (and the income level of individuals within the areas) and the number of sources of information available to subjects and their involvement in affairs beyond the community level. The data in Table 1 show the high proportion of sample members who did not subscribe to daily newspapers and magazines and who spent very little time reading. It should be emphasized that reading is a matter of interest, not of availability of reading material, since material is, of course, easily available to those who want to

read.

The findings of the present study are in accord with those of other studies in showing a relationship between low involvements in affairs outside the community and anomie, or apathetic despair. Data reviewed in Chapter IX show that the anomie scores for the sample interviewed in this study are quite high compared with the scores of other Canadian and American samples.

Most "poverty" studies have shown that low income subjects have different conceptions of poverty than higher income subjects, and that there is a definite reluctance to identify people, much less oneself, as poor. Almost forty per cent of the sample members denied that there were any poor people in their areas. The detailed variations of the conceptions of poverty were discussed in Chapter VIII and are too involved to be described here. The data included in Table 1 suggest that there was a fair amount of disdain for and hostility toward the poor, on the part of sample members. This was more often expressed by the lower income groups than by the higher income groups.

Most people feel well off or poorly off, not absolutely, in terms of some fixed scale, but relatively, in comparison with others they know or whom they are close to. This was the basis for another "poverty index" which was used in the present study. Subjects were asked how many of their brothers and married sisters they felt were "getting ahead" faster than they. The data show that about one and a half times as many subjects felt that their siblings were getting ahead faster than they were than felt that they were progressing better than the brothers and sisters. Almost half of the sample felt definitely impoverished in the sense of not keeping up to the pace set by most of their brothers and sisters.

A final area where the findings of this study were very clear had to do with attitudes and values. The data discussed in Chapter X show that higher income subjects more often emphasized success values, and the lower income subjects more often emphasized popularity values. Furthermore, subjects' scores on the subsets of the Middle Class Orientation Inventory showed that the higher income groups more often than the lower income groups emphasized saving for the future, the importance of success, respectability,

education and an activistic approach to life. Higher income group members in the non-farm sample, but not in the farm sample, indicated a willingness to sacrifice close relationships with friends and relatives in order to succeed.

The strongest impressions which one obtains from studying the data in Table 1 are (1) the virtual absence of noticeable "abject" poverty among the white samples in the areas studied, and (2) the absence of strong indication of self-perpetuation of poverty.

(1) Although there was a large number of subjects in the white samples with low incomes, and a fairly large number with inadequate housing, the amount of suffering, as revealed in the interview data, appeared to be minimal. Only a small proportion of subjects reported having difficulties paying doctors' bills. The amount of repossession of goods bought on the payment plans was minimal. A very small proportion of farm subjects wanted to leave the area in which they were living, and a few indicated a wish to get into some other occupation in response to our "new start aspiration" questions. In Drumheller there was a much larger proportion of subjects who wanted to leave the area, but even here the proportion of subjects interested in re-training opportunities is not as large as one might have expected.

(2) One of the signs of perpetuation of poverty is low educational attainment by children of impoverished parents. The most dramatic finding of this study is that the children on low income non-farm subjects who have left school have higher grade level attainment in school than do the high income respondents' children. This was not true for the farm sample, but the relationship was not clearly reversed. Similarly, although our data on the occupations of children of sample members who have left school was very limited, there was no indication of a tendency for the grown children of low income subjects to be disproportionately in low income level occupations. These generalizations must be cautiously made because most of the children of respondents have not yet entered the world of work. Only a small part of the total picture is yet visible. On the basis of the data now available, however, we suspect that perpetuation of poverty among the white rural population of this province is a small problem.

One of the reasons for this is the relatively high level of family dis-

cipline, morale and harmony which is found in the low income families. There appears to be as much, and perhaps more, family disharmony in the higher income groups as there is in the low income groups. The result is apparently little alienation of children from their parents and, as a consequence, parents are able to effectively pass on to their children the rather high aspirations which they have for them. We suspect, in other words, that both the family morale and the family solidarity in poorer rural families are sufficiently high, that parents can communicate their dreams for their children to them, and their children are motivated to strive for them. The high levels of family morale and solidarity in the poorer farm areas appear to be in part a result of the isolation of these areas. It is possible that as isolation inevitably breaks down in all parts of the province this situation will change.

If our data for the white portion of the sample suggest little of "abject" poverty, it does suggest a fair amount of "heartbreak" poverty and of "apathetic" poverty. The example of "heartbreak" poverty in our sample is Blueberry Mountain. In 1965 twenty-eight per cent of the sample reported no income, in fact a net loss in most cases. Here one finds the highest proportion of any sample in two and three room shacks. Here is the highest proportion of men with off-farm jobs who must live away from home while working at these jobs--as is true of forty per cent of our Blueberry sample. During the period when their men are away, the women must look after the farm and raise the children alone.

This is, of course, the way in which the Ukrainian and other impoverished homesteaders established their farms in this part of the country sixty years ago. They left their wives and children on the farms and went to work on the railroads and in the coal mines in order to earn money to support their families until their homesteads began to produce. The men who leave their farms to work today are still doing the development work on the frontiers of the province. They are frequently engaged in work on roads, railroads or oil development--"bush work." As one looks at the history of areas like the district around Bonnyville--where the poorly producing homestead size farms are being consolidated, with but little return

to the men who, through toil and sacrifice, brought these farms into production in the first place--one wonders how many of the Blueberry Mountain farmers will be similarly rewarded in time, for their sacrifice and heartbreak now. One wonders, is there not some way in which the burden of "pioneering" can be eased in this province, and is there not some other way in which the needed development work can be done? A way which does not have some of the social consequences of some current off-farm work patterns?

The example of "apathy" poverty in our sample is Niton. Our data show it to be one of the poorest of the farming areas we studied. Niton has a high incidence of low involvement in the community, low involvement in concerns beyond the community, low familiarity with the leadership in the community and apparently low levels of leadership activity in the community. There is poverty here, as indicated by very low incomes, and to a lesser extent, by inferior housing. But in contrast to the hard work, optimism and potential heartbreak of the Blueberry area, one senses more of uncaringness and apathy. The kind of help that an area like this needs is not the kind of "pioneer aid" which is needed in Blueberry, to ease the overwork which one finds indications of there. What is needed is some program, involving, perhaps, aspects of adult education or community re-development, which will breathe new life into an area in danger of stagnation.

The Indian Ancestry Sample

Because we have less statistical information for the Indian samples than for the white samples there is less that can be summarized here. Statistical indices of poverty for the Indian and Metis samples are available only in five areas: income, receipt of social assistance, housing, health and education. These indices are found in Table 2. These do convey a vivid sense of the varied dimensions of poverty among the Indian ancestry peoples of this province, however.

The story can be quickly reviewed. Forty-four per cent of the sample had an annual income of less than \$2,000. Two-thirds of the households contacted earned no more than \$1,000 in 1965. The result was that 75 per cent

CHAPTER XII - TABLE 2

ASPECTS OF POVERTY FOR INDIAN ANCESTRY SAMPLES

		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Income	1965 Annual Family Income under \$2,000	45	44.1
Receipt of Social Assistance	Received Social Assistance payments during last year	136	74.9
Receipt of Social Allowance	Received Social Allowance payments during last year	128	69.2
Housing	Houses with low range Edwards scores (under 11)	152	83.0
	Housing density of more than one person per room	169	83.3
Health	Households with one or more disabled family member	63	32.6
	Households with one or more family members having Tuberculosis	63	32.3
	Households with one or more childhood deaths	83	43.0
	Households covered by health insurance	31	31.6
Education	Men with no years of schooling	47	45.6
	Women with no years of schooling	35	32.1
	Men with nine or more years of schooling	5	4.8
	Women with nine or more years of schooling	7	6.5
Earnings	Earned not more than \$1,000 in 1965	115	68.9

of the sample received social assistance payments during the year, and another 69 per cent received social allowance payments during the year.

The housing of sample members was ill-equipped in terms of facilities and was badly overcrowded. Eighty-three per cent of the sample lived in houses scoring in the low range of the Edwards scale, and the same percentage had a density of more than one person per room. Both the provincial and the federal governments have active programs of providing housing for Metis and Treaty Indians respectively. However, the quality of the housing that can be built and, more importantly, the size of the families that live in the houses, prevent such programs from solving the problem according to accepted white standards.

The health of the Indian ancestry sample members is poor, whether one judges by disabilities within the family, incidence of tuberculosis or childhood deaths. The childhood death rate is twice as high as it was for the white sample. One-third of the families have one or more disabled members, and about the same proportion have one or more members who have had tuberculosis. Thirty-two per cent of the sample members are covered by health insurance, but more than half receive such coverage in connection with disability or old age pensions.

The education of the adults and their mates is extremely low as the data in the Table show. One-third of the women and almost half of the men have had no education at all. Less than ten per cent have had more than eight years schooling.

Two other areas relevant to poverty must be mentioned. There are contacts with the larger society and value commitments. One of the most striking findings with respect to the Indian ancestry sample is the extreme degree of effective isolation from contact with the rest of the society. This situation is seen dramatically on the Kikino Metis Colony. In this community, having a population of about 420, there is mail delivery only once per week, the nearest telephone is about ten miles away, there is no public transportation of any kind available, and less than half of the families have automotive transportation. The obstacles which this situation poses to meeting the medical, employment, welfare consultation needs, etc. of the people were discussed

in some detail in Chapter IX. Furthermore, there are no subscriptions to newspapers or magazines by any of the colony residents. The only mass media that people are exposed to is the radio. This is very widespread since virtually every family has a battery powered transistor radio. However, the only stations which people in these areas listen to are CJCA and CHED which play predominantly "country-western" and "rock and roll" music.

It is true that most of the Indian ancestry families which were interviewed have friends and relatives in Edmonton or Calgary. This appears to do little to dispel the fear--largely fear of that which is not understood--which people have of the city and the larger society which the city symbolizes.

The second area which must be briefly discussed is the value commitments of the Indian ancestry sample. Throughout this study we have been interested in the extent to which people are committed to the typical pattern of middle class values. These include an emphasis on deferring gratification and saving for the future, on the importance of success, of legality and sexual respectability, of education, of an activistic, mastering approach to life rather than a passive, acquiescent approach to life, and of freedom from mobility inhibiting relationships with extended relatives and friends. The usual stereotype of the Indian depicts him as lazy and the very opposite of this profile of middle class values. It is possible to comment on the degree of involvement or disinvolvement with these values by Indian ancestry people in the Kikino Colony and Saddle Lake areas, on the basis of our data.

We have a great deal of evidence, which was presented in Chapter VI, that Indians emphasize the value of education virtually as strongly, considering their circumstances, as do middle class whites. There appears to be little difference between whites and the Indians in our sample in this regard. It should be emphasized, however, that the frustrations and handicaps that Indian children must bear in the integrated schools which they are attending with increasing frequency, will continue to produce high drop-out rates. Only a re-orientation of the curriculum so that it is more explicitly oriented to the interests, limitations and needs of Indian ancestry youngsters will change this situation.

At the other extreme, the middle class values which Indians appear

to internalize least are those which emphasize respectability and freedom from inhibiting relationships with friends and relatives. There is much evidence of the heavy Indian involvement in illegitimacy and court convictions. There is little evidence of imminent changes in values which will terminate this situation. It is difficult to tell how much mounting shame at these behaviors there may be among Indian ancestry people, however. The Alcoholics Anonymous movement is quite strong in all Indian and Metis settlements, and this is middle class in its implications. We also have much evidence concerning the strength of attachments to home community, another non-middle class value identification. Our sample members had little interest in moving to the city, even though it was generally agreed that there were numerous economic advantages to be enjoyed in the city.

In regard to activism, saving for the future and the emphasis on success, the research assistants in the Lac La Biche area found definite, even heartbreaking identification with these values on the part of a minority of people in the area; people committed to trying to attain self-sufficiency in the face of very great obstacles. In sum, we found considerable evidence of the growing tendency for Indian ancestry peoples to identify with most of the middle class values discussed. Progress in this direction is slow but it is nevertheless sure. The continued existence of derogatory stereotypes among whites is something of a threat to this progress, especially when it tends to deny to Indians employment opportunities in which to exercise and strengthen such middle class values as they now have.

The data thus show signs of growing identification with middle class values on the part of Indian ancestry subjects. There can be no doubt that the only "poverty relief programs" that will be successful are those which will encourage and build upon these signs. They must be programs which will simultaneously (1) reduce the burden of dependents which most family heads now carry (which make some dependence on social assistance payments now inevitable) and (2) strengthen the weak sense of pride and self-sufficiency and independence so characteristic of most Indian peoples today, and increase feelings of initiative and competence.

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE I
HUMAN RESOURCES SURVEY, SCHEDULE D

M and F

DATE _____

No. _____

Community _____

Respondent _____

Interviewer _____

1. Respondent's sex M or F _____ 2. How old are you? _____

3a. Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated? _____

b. How old were you when first married? _____

c. Have you been married before? _____ How many times? _____

d. How did that (those) marriage(s) end? _____

4. Interviewers: Obtain the complete residential history of the respondent starting with his present place of residence and working back to his first place of residence in Canada after arriving in this country as an immigrant (or place of birth if born in Canada).

Name of community and province	Occupation	If on farm, farm value	Length of Residence	Reason for coming to this area: add. to family, job.
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_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. Where were you born? (Give town or city, province and country).

6. Ask this question only if the respondent has moved within the last 10 years.

We are interested in how people go about making up their minds to move from one place to another.

(a) Why did you move here? _____

(b) Whom did you talk the decision over with? (Probe if necessary - friends, relatives, "professionals".)

(c) How good was the advice that you received? _____

(d) What was your wife's attitude? _____

(e) What were your children's attitudes? _____

(f) How long was it on your mind before you actually moved? _____

(g) Was there anything that helped you to make up your mind or forced you to make up your mind? _____

7. (a) If you had it to do over again - if you knew what you do now - but you were in that situation, would you again move here? _____

(b) Why? _____

(c) If not: what would you do instead? _____

8. Where was your father born? (Give town or city, province and country).

9. Where was your mother born? (Give town or city, province and country).

Where were your grandfathers born? (Give town or city, province and country.)

10. Paternal grandfather _____

11. Maternal grandfather _____

12. What was the last grade you completed in school? _____ University? _____

13. What additional training have you had?

	Type of Training (list certificates, diplomas, etc.)	Years completed
(a) apprentice or practical	_____	_____
(b) vocational	_____	_____
(c) other	_____	_____

14. How much formal schooling did your father have? _____

15. How much formal schooling did your mother have? _____

16. What was your father's job? _____
(precise occupational title)

17. What was your first full-time job after you quit school? _____
(precise occupational title)

18. What is your occupation now or when you were last employed? _____

(get specific job title wherever possible)

19. Are you currently:

HOUSEWIFE at home _____

working part-time* _____

working full-time* _____

retired _____

unemployed _____

other _____

* refers to outside the home, for women.

M only

FOR THOSE WHO REPORTED THEIR OCCUPATION AS A FARMER, OR WHO OWN A FARM THEY RENT OUT

20. Were you or your parents original homesteaders on this land? _____ When? _____
21. (None) _____
22. How many acres do you own (or are you buying)? _____
23. How many acres do you rent from someone else? _____
24. How many acres do you rent out to someone else? _____
25. How much of your land (rented and/or owned) falls into each of the following categories?
- (a) cultivated (cropland, sown hay, summer fallow) _____
26. (b) pasture (cleared) but not broken _____
27. (c) uncleared (bush) _____
28. (d) wasteland (sloughs, muskeg, alkali, etc). _____
29. What is your primary crop? _____
30. What other crops do you produce? _____

How much of each of the following kinds of livestock do you own?

- A. Cattle _____ Registered? _____
- Beef (a) breeding herd _____
- (b) Calves (this spring under 1 year) _____
- (c) Other beef over one year. _____
- (d) market stock (to be sold before year is ended) _____
32. Dairy Total _____
33. Hogs Total _____
34. Sheep Total _____
35. Poultry a) Chickens _____
- b) Turkeys _____
36. Other (specify) _____

M only

37. Interviewer: identify farm type (mixed, dairy, etc.) _____
38. What would you estimate the total value of your machinery to be? (What would you sell it all for, or give me the income tax figure.) _____
- If no answer:
39. (a) Do you own a tractor? _____
 (b) How much did you pay for it? _____
 (c) When did you buy it? _____
40. (a) Do you own a combine or threshing machine? _____
 (b) How much did you pay for it? _____
 (c) When did you buy it? _____
41. (a) Do you own a power bailer? _____
 (b) How much did you pay for it? _____
 (c) When did you buy it? _____
42. What would you estimate the cash value of your farm to be? (How much would you sell it ALL for, including all capital investment in machinery, livestock, buildings, etc.?) _____

43. Do any members of your family help you work the farm? _____ When? _____

44. Do you employ any permanent full-time farm hands? _____
If yes: how many? _____
45. Do you employ any temporary full-time farm hands? _____
If yes: how many? _____
46. (a) Do you need additional hired help? _____
 (b) Can you afford to pay for help at present? _____
 (c) Is help available around here now? _____
47. (a) How much are you in debt? _____
 (b) To whom? _____
48. What rate of interest are you paying? _____
49. When do you expect to have it paid off? _____
50. When was the last year in which you had difficulty meeting your debt payments? _____
 How did you handle it? _____
51. How about the year before that? _____

52. Do you worry about your debts? _____

M only

53. If you could borrow money to expand your farm, would you take it? _____
54. Have you ever tried unsuccessfully to borrow on your farm? (a) _____
(b) when _____ (c) how much? _____
55. How much have your land taxes gone up in the past 3 years? _____
56. IF HE HAS BEEN ON THIS FARM 10 YEARS OR MORE: Are you now farming the same amount of land as you were 10 years ago?
Same _____ How much more? _____
How much less? _____
57. What is the best yield of wheat or oats you've ever had? The worst? What is the average yield in this area?
Interviewer, check one: wheat _____ oats _____
(a) Best _____
(b) Worst _____
(c) Average _____
- 58a. Do you think that farmers get a fair price for their products? _____
b. If no: How could farmers go about getting a better price for their products? _____

- 59a. How about farm machinery prices? _____

- b. Is there anything farmers can do about that? _____

60. Have you ever had to get government assistance during hard times? _____
(a) P.F.A. _____ (b) Unemployment Insurance _____ (c) Welfare _____
(d) When Welfare _____
(e) How long did you get Welfare? _____

61. (a) Did you get Welfare at any other time? _____ (b) For how long? _____

62. How satisfied are you with your life here, on this particular farm? _____

63. How well would you say that you are doing, are getting ahead now? _____

64. Have you had any particular problems, or handicaps, or troubles that have held you back from getting ahead as well as you otherwise would have? _____

65. Were you employed off your farm any time during: (a) 1963 _____ (b) 1964 _____
(c) 1965 _____

66. If yes: During the last year that you worked:
(a) Who was your employer the last time? (main job) _____
(b) What type of work did you do? (main) _____
(c) How far from your farm was your place of employment? (main) _____
(d) Number of days worked all year? _____
(e) About how much money did you earn all year? _____
(f) Did you live on the farm while working? (main) _____
If no: Where? How far from home? _____

67. If no:
(a) Did you want off-farm work? _____
If yes: i) Did you actively seek work? _____
ii) How did you go about it? _____
(b) Do off-farm work opportunities for men (for women) exist in this community? _____

(c) How far would a man (woman) here have to go to find seasonal off-farm employment? _____

MEN ONLY, REST OF PAGE

68. For full or part-time small business owners:
(a) How many years have you been in your present business here?
(b) What businesses have you been in before this?
(c) What would you estimate the cash value of each of these businesses to be?
(for his present business, include plant and all machinery which is owned
or being purchased)

<u>BUSINESS</u>	<u>HOW LONG</u>	<u>VALUE OF BUSINESS</u> (selling price)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(d) How many employees do you have? full-time _____ part-time _____
Does this include any members of your immediate family? _____

69. For those reporting themselves as employees of other persons:
do you supervise any people on the job? _____ How many? _____

70. For full-time or part-time contractors (either as a single occupation or in addition
to some other occupation):
What kind of contractor: _____
Do you retain any full-time employees during the periods that you contract? _____
If yes: How many? _____
Do you ever hire out to other contractors? _____

M only

71. What was your main source of income in 1965? (circle one) Did you receive income from any of these other sources? (Check those mentioned)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (a) wages or salary | <input type="checkbox"/> (g) custom <i>work</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b) sale of farm goods | <input type="checkbox"/> (h) income from stocks or bonds |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (c) business or professional practice (not including rents) | <input type="checkbox"/> (i) other interest, dividends or insurance annuities |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (d) income from rents (suites, houses, farm or business property) | <input type="checkbox"/> (j) regular cash contributions from outside your house, as from your children or other relatives, family allowance (15 yrs and under) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (e) government pension | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (f) pension from private employer | <input type="checkbox"/> (k) other |

72. Including all regular sources, about how much would you say your total income (cash) came to in 1965, after deducting your operating expenses? _____

75. Are you thinking of or planning to move from here in the near future? _____

73. Would you like to move? _____

74. Why? _____

77. If yes:

(a) Where are you thinking of or planning to move? _____

(b) Why are you planning to move? _____

(c) For how long have you thought about this? _____

(d) What has kept you from moving up to the present time? _____

ALL 78. Have you seriously discussed moving with your wife (husband) at all? _____

ALL 79. What does she (he) think of it? _____

ALL 80. Have you tried to influence her (him) one way or the other? _____

ALL 82. How do (would) your children feel about moving from here? _____

83. INTERVIEWER: Rate interviewee in terms of decisiveness on decision to move (probe to clarify).

Indecisive _____ Decisive _____ Not Applicable _____

84. Is it important to you that your children grow up on a farm?

Very important _____ Quite important _____ A little _____ Not at all _____ NR _____

85. Why? _____

86. Are there people in this area whom you feel close to, or whom you depend upon, like relatives or close friends, who make it difficult for you to move away because you don't want to leave them behind? _____

87. If yes: Who are they? _____

88. Are there any other reasons why you would feel badly about leaving this area and moving to another area? _____

89. If yes: What are they? _____

M only

90. What are you planning to do now to improve your farm? About how much would this cost? (Anything else?). (Do not read this list to respondent.)

COST

- (a) land clearing and improving _____
- (b) land additions _____
- (c) building improvements
(apart from house) _____
- (d) house improvements _____
- (e) machinery _____
- (f) livestock _____
- (g) other _____

91. How do you anticipate financing these improvements? _____

92. What would you like to be able to do to improve your farm? About how much would this cost?

COST

- (a) land clearing and improving _____
- (b) land additions _____
- (c) building improvements
(apart from house) _____
- (d) house improvements _____
- (e) machinery _____
- (f) livestock _____
- (g) other _____

93. Have you applied for any financial assistance to realize these plans? _____

94. If yes: What happened? _____

95. If no: Why not? _____

96. How confident are you that these plans would really pay off so that you could earn a better living on this farm? _____

97. Have you talked about this with the district agriculturalist, so that you could have his judgement that this would work? _____

98. Have you discussed your plans with others? _____

99. If yes: Who? _____

100. If you financed these improvements with a long term loan, would it raise your earnings enough that you would be able to repay the money without too much difficulty? _____

101. INTERVIEWER: Rate respondent's thinking as specific or vague.

VS _____ PS _____ ? _____ PV _____ DV _____

102. If you could get some financial help (for example, a loan which you would repay, in part) to get you set up so that you could earn a better living, would you want to use that help to move away somewhere else, or would you want to put more of an investment into this farm? _____

103. If he wants to move:

Would you prefer to move to another farm, or would you rather give up farming and get a job somewhere? _____

(a) If you move to a farm, what kind of farm would you like to get (how big, mixed or specialized, kind of machinery, etc.) and where would you want to move? _____

(b) How much financial help would you need - how much of a loan would you need - in order to get set up in such a farm, after you sold out here? _____

104. INTERVIEWER: Rate respondent's thinking as specific or vague.

VS _____ PS _____ ? _____ PV _____ DV _____

105. If he wants to work off the farm:

(a) What kind of work would you be interested in getting? _____

(b) Why are you interested in that kind of work? _____

(c) Are you currently qualified for that kind of work, or would you need further training? _____

(d) Where would you like to move to get a job? _____

(e) Why do you want to go there? _____

106. INTERVIEWER: Rate respondent's thinking as specific or vague.

VS _____ PS _____ ? _____ PV _____ DV _____

107. If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do? _____

108. Why? _____

109. If non-farm work: What additional training do you think you would need for such work? _____

110. If training needed: Would you need financial assistance to complete such training? _____

M only

111. If yes: If it were possible for you to get that assistance now - if I could fill out the papers for you - would you really sell out now and go into this other line of work? _____ Why? _____

112. If no: If you would like that kind of work, and don't need financial assistance to go into it, why don't you sell out here and make the change now? _____

113. INTERVIEWER: Record how "live" or "dead" respondent's interest is in this occupation.

VL _____ PL _____ ? _____ PD _____ DD _____

M and F

Now I'd like to talk a little about children.

114. How many children did your mother have who lived to the age of twelve? _____

115. How many died before the age of twelve? _____

F only, if the husband is also being interviewed.

116. How many living children do you have? _____

117. Have you had any that were dead when born or who died before they were twelve years of age? _____ How many? _____

118. Would you mind telling me how he (she) died, and at what age? (obtain for each mortality.)

Cause of Death _____ Age _____

Cause of Death _____ Age _____

Cause of Death _____ Age _____

119. Fill in Child Table here (with wife if possible).

M and F: rest of page

120. What do you consider to be the ideal number of children for a family to have? _____

121. How do you feel about the use of birth control procedures by married couples? _____

122. Is birth control information available anywhere in this area? _____

If yes: Where is it available? _____

123. Applicable only to respondents with children

What kind of work would you like your sons to go into? (Record relevant spontaneous comments.) _____

124. Do you plan to do anything to help them to reach this goal? _____

. . . 12

F only if husband is
also being interviewed

125. What kind of work would you like your daughters to go into? (Have respondent assume that she (he) has daughters, if necessary.) _____

126. Do you plan to do anything to help them to reach this goal? _____

F and M, REST OF PAGE

127. Can you tell me the name of your MLA? _____ C? _____

128. Would you feel free to talk to your MLA about some of the problems of this district?

certainly _____ probably _____ doubtful _____ no _____ DK or NR _____

129. Do you think talking to him would do any good?

certainly _____ probably _____ doubtful _____ no _____ DK, NR, or NA _____

130. Can you tell me the name of your MP? _____ C? _____

We are interested in how convenient it is for people to vote around here at election time.
Do you remember, did you vote in the:

131. 1963 Provincial election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

132. 1959 Provincial election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

133. 1965 Federal election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

134. 1963 Federal election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

135. 1962 Federal election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

INNISVAIL AND DRUMHELLER ONLY. OTHERS CHECK: DOES NOT APPLY _____

136. Did you vote in the last County (City) election?

yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

137. Did you vote in the one before that?

yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

ALL:

138. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Federal politics (in the news)?

very closely _____ fairly closely _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

139. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Provincial politics (in the news)?

very closely _____ fairly closely _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

140. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Municipal politics?

very closely _____ fairly closely _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

141. Are you a member of a church, or do you attend a church? If so what denomination?
(Probe for the accurate name of the denomination.)

143. About how often do you attend church? (Check one answer in each column.)

more than once a week	_____	
about once a week	_____	
about 2 or 3 times a month	_____	
about once a month	_____	Every time there is a service _____
2 or 3 times a year	_____	Less than every time there _____
never. _____ Other _____		is a service _____

142. How religious would you say that you are?

very religious	_____
moderately religious	_____
not very religious	_____
not at all religious	_____

144. Now, I would like to ask you about the groups and organizations that you belong to.
Would you give me their names?

145. How frequently do you attend or participate?

146. Have you ever served as an officer in these groups?

Name of Organization	Proportion of Meetings Attended	Names of Official Positions Held
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

147. Do you (or did you) belong to the Farmers Union? Do belong _____ Did belong _____

148. Why (or why not now)? _____

149. Would you favor some other kinds of organization of farmers? _____

150. If yes: What kind? _____

151. Are there any other official positions you have ever held, on the School Board, Church Executive, other organizations? If yes, what positions in what organizations?

#152 and #153 F preferably or M

152. Do you subscribe to any newspapers regularly? If yes: Which ones? _____

153. Do you subscribe to any magazines regularly? If yes: Which ones? _____

(FILL OUT LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES SHEET AT THIS POINT)

154. Do you own a T.V. set? _____ If yes: About how many hours a week would you say you watch T.V.?
- in winter _____ in summer _____
155. If you have (had) ready access to a T.V. set, and had the time, which programs would you like to watch? (If no T.V., ask about RADIO programs.)
- _____
- _____
- _____
156. About how many hours a week do you spend reading the paper or magazines?
- in winter _____ in summer _____
157. Do you feel that this is a pretty good area in which to live, or, do you wish that you were living in a different area? _____
- If elsewhere: Where do you wish you were living? _____
- _____
158. Why do you wish you were living there? _____
- _____
159. Would you advise your children to stay here in this area and make their home here? Why? _____
- _____
- _____
160. If no: What area do you think they would do best to settle down in? _____
- _____
- _____
161. How do you feel about the people in this community? _____
- _____
- _____
162. How many close friends would you say you have around here - people you can share confidences with? _____
164. How often do you see them?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
165. What kinds of things do you do with them?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

167. Who do you feel free to turn to in time of trouble, when you need help? (Who would you leave your children with if you were suddenly called away for 1 - 2 days? _____

169. Here is a list of the various ways people find out about things. (Hand respondent card #1.) Which would you say are the three most important to you? (Try to avoid defining "things". If pressed, any politics, important events.)

radio _____	books _____
T.V. _____	personal experience _____
magazines _____	church _____
movies _____	school _____
talking with people _____	newspapers _____
you know _____	other _____

170. Here are some statements which some people agree with and some people disagree with. How do you feel about each one?

1. Y N In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.
2. Y N It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
3. Y N There's little use in writing to government officials, because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
4. Y N These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
5. (coder - see p. 20 #1)

171. 1. If you had a great deal of money, would you work as much as you do now? _____

Are you pretty sure of that? very sure _____ fairly sure _____ not too sure _____

2. Would you say that the WORST thing about being sick is that your work does not get done? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

Very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

3. Would you say that you work like a slave at everything you do until you are satisfied with the results? _____

Are you pretty sure of that? very sure _____ fairly sure _____ not too sure _____

4. Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

5. Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

6. If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about this?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

172. Tell me, are there any people whom you would say are really poor around here (in this district)? _____ R himself: _____

If no, probe to make sure that there is no one whom he considers in poverty, and then go on to the next question. If yes, continue.

173. I need to ask you some questions about this, so would you please decide in your mind just whom you would say is poor around here. How many families come to mind? _____

174. How can you tell that they are poor? How does it show? (Probe for full account.)

175. What would you say, in your mind, marks the difference between families which are not doing too well and families which are really poor? (Probe)

176. Could you please tell me why it is that each of these families is poor? (i.e. why they haven't done any better than they have)

177. How do you think each of these families feels about their situation?

178. Do you think that there is anything that the government ought to do to help families like these? _____

If yes: What kind of program do you think the government ought to set up to help such families? (Have respondent be fairly specific.)

179. Can you put yourself in their place and tell me what kind of a program of help would be best in the long run for you if you were in their situation?

180. WOMEN ONLY - UNLESS THERE IS NO WOMAN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

We are interested in the amount of sickness and accidents in families in this area. I would like to get a little information about sickness and accidents in your family during the past year. FILL OUT TABLE HERE.

181. How would you describe the general condition of your health during the last three years?

excellent _____
 good _____
 fair _____
 poor _____
 very poor _____

182. Do you now have health problems which interfere with your activity in your daily life?

_____ yes, have health problems which do interfere
 _____ yes, have health problems but they do not interfere with activity
 _____ no, have no health problems

If yes: The problem is _____

183. How long ago did you last suffer from a major illness, or incapacitating health condition?

184. Do you belong to MSI? _____

185. Do you belong to Blue Cross? _____

186. Do you have any other prepaid medical expense coverage? _____

187. If not How does it happen that you have never taken out medical expense coverage?

188. How much did your medical bills add up to last year? (not covered by insurance)

189. How did you handle these bills? _____

190. What kinds of things do you do when you are not working?

in winter _____

in summer _____

191. About how much time do you have a week to do these things?

in winter _____

in summer _____

192. MEN ONLY ???

About how often would you say you go to the pub?

(a) in winter _____ (b) in summer _____

193. Of all the things you do when you are not working which one do you like doing most?

194. Why? _____

195. If you had your choice, would you most like to be:

successful _____

independent or _____

well liked? _____

196. Think of the things which are most important to you. Which three things on this card are the most important to you in the long run?

If you had to decide, which one is the most important to you?

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| (a) making money and buying things | _____ | _____ |
| (b) doing things for other people | _____ | _____ |
| (c) keeping healthy and fit | _____ | _____ |
| (d) politics or community affairs | _____ | _____ |
| (e) religious activities | _____ | _____ |
| (f) being liked and respected by others | _____ | _____ |
| (g) being highly skilled in what I do | _____ | _____ |
| (h) being a just and honest person | _____ | _____ |
| (i) family ties and relationships | _____ | _____ |
| (j) being independent and one's own boss | _____ | _____ |

197. What satisfactions do you get from your work? What do you like about it?

198. Who would you say are the five people with the most influence in this community, in order? What does he (she) do?

NAME	OCCUPATION	WHAT DOES HE DO IN THE COMMUNITY?
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

199. What characteristics do you think a community leader should have? _____

200. What kinds of people do you think are the 'best' people in this community, generally speaking? (What kinds of people would you like to see move in next door)

Why? _____

201. What kinds of people do you think are the "worst" people in this community, generally speaking? (What kinds of people would you like to see move away?)

Why? _____

202. Are there any things in your family life that you are especially worried about?

yes _____ no _____ NR _____ not applicable _____

If yes: What are they? _____

203. Do you have any disagreements at all with your children?

frequently _____ sometimes _____ rarely _____ never _____

204. If yes: What are the things that you disagree about, in order of frequency?

205. What kinds of things do you and your husband often disagree about? (Probe for sources and amounts of discord.)

206. INTERVIEWER: Rate family discord.

severe discord _____ moderate discord _____ slight discord _____ no discord _____

207. INTERVIEWER: How much conflict do you sense in this family?

between parents: great deal _____ fair amount _____ little bit _____ almost none _____

between parents
and children: great deal _____ fair amount _____ little bit _____ almost none _____

208.

(Instructions to interviewer: Read to the respondent the introduction and each statement exactly as written; circle the response which, in your opinion, most closely typifies their answer.)

"Here are some ideas I would like to ask you about. Some people feel and think this way - other people do not. How do you feel? For example, the first one here says . . . ?

	<u>D</u>	<u>QD</u>	<u>QA</u>	<u>A</u>
1. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself.	4	3	2	1
2. What counts in life is being able to feel that you are a success.	1	2	3	4
3. Getting into trouble with the police now and then is not something to be ashamed of unless you've really done something bad.	4	3	2	1
4. You can't do much about the world so you might as well learn to put up with things the way they are.	4	3	2	1
5. The money I save gives me as good a feeling as things I buy	1	2	3	4
6. In order to get along in the world, you have to look after your family and friends, and let them look after you.	4	3	2	1
7. A person ought to be satisfied if he manages to get by without too much effort.	4	3	2	1
8. If a girl should get 'in trouble' and 'have to get married' she has disgraced herself.	1	2	3	4
9. If a fellow can get a good job when he finished school, he is foolish to go to university.	4	3	2	1
10. The more you try to plan ahead, the more you will be disappointed.	4	3	2	1
11. Getting ahead in the world is one of the most important things in life.	1	2	3	4
12. It is better to blow up now and then at someone and tell them off than to bottle your feelings up.	4	3	2	1
13. For many young people, education past Grade 9 is not worth the time and trouble.	4	3	2	1
14. To get ahead in the world, a man should be willing to give up old friends and make new ones.	1	2	3	4
15. If a couple want to live together without being married, that's up to them.	4	3	2	1
16. A person is responsible only for himself and his wife and children and not for his other relatives.	1	2	3	4
17. Too many people are so busy planning for tomorrow that they can't really live today.	4	3	2	1
18. Schooling only makes sense if it helps one to get a good job.	4	3	2	1
19. If people really go after what they want they can usually get it.	1	2	3	4
20. Money is made to spend, not to save or invest.	4	3	2	1
21. Education may be important but lots of people get too carried away with it.	4	3	2	1
22. Too many people are so concerned with getting ahead that they can't really enjoy life.	4	3	2	1

. . . 21
M preferably, or F

209. Do you have anyone besides your wife (husband) and children living with you at the present time? (Do not include a regular "hired" man or woman.) _____

If yes, list by relationship and age.

Ask for each person: Does he (she) give you much help with work on the farm?

Does he (she) pay you anything for their room and board? How much?

Do you pay him (her) for the help they give you on the farm?

How much?

RELATIONSHIP	AGE	WORK FOR YOU	THEY PAY YOU HOW MUCH?	YOU PAY THEM HOW MUCH?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

M ONLY

210. We are interested in how far people live from various kinds of facilities. Would you please tell me about how far you are from the nearest . . . ?

- | | |
|------------------------|-------|
| (a) doctor | _____ |
| (b) hospital | _____ |
| (c) elementary school | _____ |
| (d) high school | _____ |
| (e) general store | _____ |
| (f) provincial highway | _____ |

M PREFERABLY, OR F

211. We would like to know how many brothers and married sisters you have, how old each one is, where each one is living, and what each one is doing.

INTERVIEWER: Stop here if you have 6 or more already.

We would also like to know how many brothers and married sisters your wife has, how old each one is, where each one is living, and what each one is doing.

Which ones would you say are succeeding or prospering about as well as you are, which ones are prospering more than you are, and which ones are prospering less well than you are. (+ is more, + is same, - is less)

How close would you say you are to each of these people?

No. of Brothers and Bros.-in-law	Age	Residence	Occupation	State of Prosperity Compared with Self	How close
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

M and F

212. Are there any improvements that you would like to see the government making in this area, e.g. roads, bridges, etc. (off your farm)?

213. Are there any services you would like to see the government providing in this area, e.g. library, etc.?

214. Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

F and M

Check one:

	<u>often</u>	<u>sometimes</u>	<u>never</u>
1. Has any ill health affected the amount of work you do?	_____	_____	_____
2. Have you ever had spells of dizziness?	_____	_____	_____
3. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?	_____	_____	_____
4. Are you troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy?	_____	_____	_____
5. Do you have loss of appetite?	_____	_____	_____
6. Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?	_____	_____	_____
7. Do you tend to lose weight when you have something important bothering you?	_____	_____	_____
8. Have you ever been bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety or tense?	_____	_____	_____
9. Have you ever been bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard?	_____	_____	_____
10. For the most part, do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you would like to do?	_____	_____	_____
11. Are you sometimes bothered by your heart beating hard. (Pounding)	_____	_____	_____
12. Do you feel you are bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body?	_____	_____	_____
13. Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?	_____	_____	_____
14. Are you bothered by nightmares?	_____	_____	_____

Check one:

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>uncertain</u>
15. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any apparent reason?	_____	_____	_____
16. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?	_____	_____	_____
17. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?	_____	_____	_____
18. Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very sluggish?	_____	_____	_____
19. Are you inclined to be moody?	_____	_____	_____
20. Do you have frequent ups and downs in mood, either with or without apparent reason?	_____	_____	_____

EVALUATION SHEET

Location of Interview _____

Name of Interviewee: _____ Place of Interview _____
(kitchen, field, barn, etc).

Date of Interview: _____ Name of Interviewer: _____

Did the respondent have any trouble understanding you - or vice versa? _____

How good was rapport? _____

How highly motivated was the respondent to participate in the interview? _____

at the beginning _____ about the middle _____ toward the end _____

Could you easily go back to this person and get more information if it was needed? _____

What kinds of interruptions occurred, and how long did they last during the interview? _____

Was the spouse of interviewee present? _____

Did he (she) influence respondent? _____

How would you evaluate or describe the interview, in general terms?

Interview checked by _____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE II
HUMAN RESOURCES SURVEY, SCHEDULE E

M and F.

Date _____ No. _____
Community _____ Respondent _____
Interviewer _____

1. Respondent's sex M or F. 2. How old are you? _____
3. (a) Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated? (circle one).
(b) How old were you when first married? _____
(c) Have you been married before? _____ How many times? _____
(d) How did that (those) marriage(s) end? _____

4. Where were you born? (Give city, province and country) _____

8. Where was your father born? (Give city, province and country) _____

9. Where was your mother born? (Give city, province and country) _____

Where were your grandfathers born? (Give town or city, province and country)

10. Paternal grandfather _____

11. Maternal grandfather _____

12. What was the last grade you completed in school? _____ University? _____

13. What additional training have you had?

Type of Training Years completed
(list certificates, diplomas, etc)

(a) apprentice or practical _____

(b) vocational _____

(c) other _____

14. How much formal schooling did your father have? _____

15. How much formal schooling did your mother have? _____

16. What was your father's job _____

(precise occupational title)

300. When did you first come to Drumheller? _____

Why did you come here? _____

19. Are you currently working, retired or unemployed? Is your spouse currently working?

HOUSEWIFE at home _____

Working part time _____

working part-time* _____

Working full-time _____

working full-time _____

Retired _____

retired _____

Unemployed _____

unemployed _____

Other _____

other _____

If working: What is his (or her) present job? _____

*refers to outside the home, for women

301. We are interested in learning something about the jobs that you have held.

INTERVIEWER: Fill out Occupational History Table.

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY RECORDING SHEET.

... 2 M and F

- (a) What kind of job do you hold now (or when you were last employed).
- (b) How long have you worked there? What is the pay scale? Do you usually work a full 40 hr. week?
- (c) Do you live at home? If no: How often do you get home? How do you feel about living away from home?
- (d) Do you hold a second full-time or part-time job now? If yes, get full details.
- (e) What job did you hold before that? (again run through the questions) Why did you leave that job? What job did you hold before that?
- (f) Hours currently worked per week.

INTERVIEWER: Obtain this information for whole work life, or for previous 6 or more jobs, until there is an apparent pattern.
Include far sure: What was the first full time job you held after quitting school? (Get full details.)
What job did you work at the longest? (Get full details.) (RECORD RELEVANT SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS.)

IF APPLICABLE:
How do (did)
you feel about
living away
from home?

Work Position	For Whom	Where - How far from Drumheller	How Long	What Pay	No. of Hrs. per Week	Live at Home	If no: Visit Home How Often	Why did you leave this job?
---------------	----------	---------------------------------	----------	----------	----------------------	--------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

1st Job

Multi-job

MOVE QUESTIONS

6. Ask this question if the respondent has moved within the last 10 years.

We are interested in how people go about making up their minds to move from one place to another (or: off the farm).

(a) Why did you move here? (leave the farm) _____

IF FARM:

(b) Were you able to earn a living on the farm? _____

If not, why not? _____

(c) Were you working part-time off the farm? _____ Why? _____

(d) (IF ANSWER TO (b) WAS NO: Would you have liked to remain on the farm if you could have made a living there? _____

ASK REMAINING QUESTIONS OF ALL MOVERS

(e) Whom did you talk the decision over with? (Probe if necessary--friends, relatives, "professionals".)

No _____ Casual discussion _____ Yes, With _____

(f) How good was the advice that you received? _____

(g) What was your wife's attitude? _____

(h) What were your children's attitudes? _____

(i) How long was it on your mind before you actually moved? _____

(j) Was there anything that helped you to make up your mind or forced you to make up your mind? _____

339. INTERVIEWER: rate decisiveness of decision making

decisive _____ ?? _____ indecisive _____ other (specify) _____

7. (a) If you had it to do over again--if you knew what you do now--but you were in that situation, would you again move here? _____

(b) Why? _____

(c) If not: what would you do instead? _____

ALL:

73. Would you like to be able to move away from here? _____

74. Why? _____

75. Are you thinking of or planning to move from here in the near future? _____

76. If no: Why not? _____

77. If yes:
(a) Where are you thinking of or planning to move? _____

(b) Why are you planning to move? _____

(c) For how long have you thought about this? _____

(d) What has kept you from moving up to the present time? _____

ALL: 78. Have you seriously discussed moving with your wife (husband) at all? _____

ALL: 79. What does she (he) think of it? _____

ALL: 82. How do (would) your children feel about moving from here? _____

83. INTERVIEWER: Rate interviewee in terms of decisiveness to move (probe to clarify).
Indecisive _____ Decisive _____ Not Applicable _____

84. Is it important to you that your children grow up on a farm?
Very important _____ Quite important _____ A little _____ Not at all _____ NR _____

85. Why? _____

86. Are there people in this area whom you feel close to, or whom you depend upon, like relatives or close friends, who make it difficult for you to move away because you don't want to leave them behind? _____

87. (a) If yes: Who are they? _____

(b) If yes: Would you leave the area anyway, if you had a good job opportunity elsewhere? _____

88. Are there any other reasons why you would feel badly about leaving this area and moving to another area? _____

89. If yes: What are they? _____

WORK SATISFACTION QUESTION

197. What satisfactions do you get from your work? What do you like about it?

302. If you have more than one job, why do you have the second job?

- (a) can't get by without it _____
- (b) don't really need it, but enjoy having the extra cash _____
- (c) other comments _____

303. What shifts do you work on your present (main) job? _____

304. On the job you have held the longest, what shifts did you work? _____

305. Do you (would you) dislike working night shift or other unusual hours? _____

Why? _____

306. Would you take a job that required you to live away from home? _____

Why? _____

307. At the end of the work day, how tired are you?

- (a) completely exhausted, can't do anything much _____
- (b) tired, but able to work around the house
or go out and enjoy myself _____
- (c) hardly tired at all _____
- (d) other (specify) _____

308. IF R HAS WORKED AT CURRENT MAIN JOB FOR MORE THAN FIVE YEARS:

Would you say that you are working harder today than 5 years ago? _____

How so? _____

309. Have conditions on this job generally improved or worsened? _____

How so? _____

310. ALL:

Employment is pretty unstable around here. What are the chances of your losing your job permanently:

(a) during this summer? _____

(b) What would you do if you did? _____

(c) What would you do if you could not find another job in this area? _____

311. (a) during the coming winter? _____

(b) What would you do if you did? _____

(c) What would you do if you could not find another job in this area? _____

312. ALL

(a) What are the chances that you may lose your job within the next couple of years? _____

(b) What would you do if you did? _____

(c) What would you do if you could not find another job in this area? _____

ALL:

313. If or when you have to look for a job, what kinds of work do you look for? _____

314. Are there some kinds of jobs you would refuse? (probe) _____

(a) If yes: What are they? _____

(b) ALL: Why? _____

315. If you had a choice would you work:

(a) longer hours for more money _____

(b) the same hours for the same money, or _____

(c) shorter hours for less money _____

Why? _____

316. (a) Would you say:

1) you get more satisfaction from your work, or _____

2) from the things you do when you are not working? _____

(b) Why? _____

(c) If 2) - What things? _____

317. Do you think the working man is paid a fair wage, usually, today?

(record elaborated answer) _____

318. If no: How do you think workers might try to get better wages? _____

319. (a) Do you belong to a labour union now? _____

(b) If not now: At an earlier time? _____ How long ago? _____

Name of union: _____ Local: _____

320. IF EVER A UNION MEMBER: How often do (did) you attend union meetings?

(a) about every meeting _____ (c) about half the time _____

(b) occasionally _____ (d) almost never _____

321. *How much control do the members have in your union?* (record elaborated answer) _____

322. ALL:
Have you had trouble getting a job around here because you:
(a) are (were) a union member, or ____ Yes ____ No ____
(b) are not a union member ____
If yes, record details of (a) or (b) here _____

324. IF NEVER A MEMBER: Would you refuse a job because it would require you to join a union? Would you hesitate about taking such a job?
(Record elaborated answer) _____

325. ALL:
Do you think that labour unions really help the average working man? (record elaborated answer) _____

326. How about unemployed people--can unions do anything for them? _____
Why do you think so? _____
328. FOR THOSE REPORTING THEY HAVE FARMED WITHIN THE LAST TEN YEARS
Where did you farm? _____
21. How many acres did you farm? _____
22. How many acres did you own? _____
23. How many acres did you rent from someone else? _____
- ,37. What kind of a farm was it (mixed, dairy, etc.)? _____
57. What crops did you raise? _____
What was your average yield per acre of wheat or oats? _____
INTERVIEWER: Check - wheat ____ or oats ____
31. How many head of cattle (beef and dairy) did you usually have? _____
38. (a) What would you estimate the total value of the machinery on that farm to be?

(b) Did you own the machinery, or did it belong to someone else? _____

42. What would you estimate was the cash value of the farm? (How much did you sell it ALL for--or would it have sold for--including land, machinery, livestock, buildings, etc.)? _____

68. For those reporting PRESENT OR PAST occupation as small business owner:

What kind of business are you (were you) in?

How many years have you been (were you) in this business?

Kind: _____ How long? _____

What would you estimate the cash value of your business to be (including plant and all machinery which is (was) owned or being purchased)? _____

69. How many employees do (did) you have? full-time _____ Part-time _____

Are you (were you) able to earn a living in that business? _____

If no: Why not? _____

How do (did) you cover the rest of your living expenses? _____

341. If the respondent no longer owns the business: Why did you sell your business? _____

70. For those respondents who report their occupation as contractor (either as a single occupation or in addition to some other occupation:

(a) What kind of contractor are you (house building, etc.)? _____

(b) Do you retain any full-time employees during the periods that you contract? _____

If yes: How many? _____

(c) Do you ever work for (hire out to) other contractors? _____

Do you supervise any people on your job? _____ If so, how many? _____

71. ALL: What was your main source of income in 1965 (circle it)? Did you receive income from any of these other sources: (check those mentioned)

(a) wages or salary _____ (g) contracting _____

(b) sale of farm goods _____ (h) income from stocks or bonds _____

(c) business or professional practice (not including rents) _____ (i) other interest, dividends or insurance annuities _____

(d) income from rents (suites, houses farm or business property) _____ (j) regular cash contributions from outside your house, as from your children or other relatives, family allowance (15 yrs & under) _____

(e) government pension _____

(f) pension from private employer _____

72. Including all regular sources, about how much would you say your total income (cash) came to in 1965? (Including income from spouse) AMOUNT \$ _____

We want to know how well people are keeping ahead financially.

342. (a) Would you tell me, is everything you own paid for Installment plan? _____
(b) If so, what? _____
(c) Are you in debt to doctors or dentists? _____
(d) Have you borrowed from a bank, loan company, or other sources? _____
(e) If so, which one? _____
48. Amount borrowed and interest rate: _____
47. About how much are you in debt in all? _____
49. When do you expect to have it all paid off? _____
50. (a) When have you had difficulty meeting your payments? _____
(b) How did you handle the difficulty? _____
51. Have you had difficulties before that? (Note if R has had chronic debt problems):

52. Do you worry much about your debts? (Record elaborated answer): _____

60. Have you ever had to get government assistance during hard times? _____
(a) P.F.A. (b) Unemployment Insurance _____ (c) Welfare _____
(d) when Welfare _____
(e) How long did you get welfare? _____

61. (a) Did you get Welfare at any other times? _____ (b) For how long? _____
102. If you could get some financial help to get set up so that you could earn a better living, how do you think you would use that help: would you want to use that help to move where there are better opportunities (Record carefully a probed and elaborated answer):
Move: where, why, do what there, how does he know of opportunities.
Further training: in what, has he prerequisites, cost, duration, opportunities.
Small business: what kind, costs, earlier experience, what opportunities exist.
Other: elaborate.

107. If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do? _____

108. Why? _____
109. If non-farm work: What additional training do you think you would need for such work? _____
110. If training needed: Would you need financial assistance to complete such training? _____

113. INTERVIEWER: Probe as necessary in order to rate, how "live" or "dead" respondent's interest is in this occupation/
VL _____ PL _____ ? _____ PD _____ DD _____

M AND F

114. How many children did your mother have? _____
115. How many died before the age of twelve? _____

F only, if the husband is also being interviewed

117. Have you had any children who were dead when born or who died before they were twelve years of age? _____ How many? _____
118. Would you mind telling me how he (she) died, and at what age? (obtain for each mortality).
Cause of death _____ Age _____
Cause of death _____ Age _____
Cause of death _____ Age _____
119. Fill in Child Table here (with wife if possible).
120. What do you consider to be the ideal number of children for a family to have? _____

121. How do you feel about the use of birth control procedures by married couples? _____

122. Is birth control information available anywhere in this area? _____
If yes: Where is it available? _____
123. Applicable only to respondents with children
What kind of work would you like your sons to go into or did you want your sons to go into when they were in school? (Record relevant spontaneous comments). _____

125. What kind of work would you like your daughters to go into or did you want your daughters to go into when they were in school? (Have respondent assume that she (he) has daughters, if necessary.) _____

84. If respondent was a farmer:

Do you think that it is a very good thing for children to grow up on a farm?

Very good _____ Good _____ Somewhat _____ Not at all _____ No Response _____

85. Why? _____

127. Can you tell me the name of your MLA? _____ C? _____

128. Would you feel free to talk to your MLA about some of the problems of this district?

Certainly _____ Probably _____ Doubtful _____ No _____ DK or NR _____

129. Do you think talking to him would do any good?

Certainly _____ Probably _____ Doubtful _____ No _____ DK, NR, or NA _____

130. Can you tell me the name of your MP? _____ C? _____

We are interested in how convenient it is for people to vote around here at election time. Do you remember, did you vote in the:

131. 1963 Provincial election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

132. 1959 Provincial election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

133. 1965 Federal election? Yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

134. 1963 Federal election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

135. 1962 Federal election? yes _____ no _____ don't remember _____ not eligible _____

138. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Federal politics (in the news)?

very closely _____ fairly closely _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

139. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Provincial politics (in the news)?

very closely _____ fairly close _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

140. Most of the time, how closely do you follow Municipal politics?

very closely _____ fairly closely _____ not too closely _____ not at all _____ NR _____

141. Are you a member of a church or do you attend church? _____

If so, what denomination? (Probe for the accurate name of the denomination.)

142. How religious would you say that you are:

very religious _____

moderately religious _____

not very religious _____

not at all religious _____

143. About how often do you attend church? (Check one answer in each column).

more than once a week _____

about once a week _____

about 2 or 3 times a month _____

about once a month _____

2 or 3 times a year _____

never _____ other _____

every time there is a service _____

less than every time there is
a service _____

144. Now, I would like to ask you about the groups and organizations that you belong to. Would you give me their names?

145. How frequently do you attend or participate?

146. Have you ever served as an officer in these groups.

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>Proportion of Meetings Attended</u>	<u>Names of Official Positions Held</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

151. Are there any other official positions you have ever held, on the School Board, Church Executive, other organizations? If yes, what positions in what organizations?

152 and # 153 preferably or M

152. Do you subscribe to any newspapers regularly? If yes: Which ones? _____

153. Do you subscribe to any magazines regularly? If yes: Which ones? _____

M = Male only

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Activity	How often do you do this? Every day per: week month year S	With whom do you do this?	Why do you do this? (record response below)
1. attend movies			
2. participate in church activities			
3. eat out in a restaurant			
4. attend sporting events			
5. play sports such as curling or golf			
6. work in the garden (vegetables or flowers)			
M 7. work around the house fixing things			
8. take holiday trips out of town			
9. go into Drumheller			
10. go for a drive (for pleasure)			
11. go to Calgary			
M 12. drink beer at the hotel			
13. go to dances			
M 14. go fishing or hunting			
M 15. play with my children			
16. read books			
17. listen to records			
19. community service work			
20. go to lectures or night school			
21. attend concerts or plays			
18. spend time on hobbies			

193. Of all the things you do when you are not working which one do you like doing most? _____

194. Why? _____

22. Do you ever think what life is all about? Yes _____ No _____

154. Do you own a T.V. set? _____ If yes: About how many hours a week would you say you watch T.V.?

in winter _____ in summer _____

155. If you have (had) ready access to a T.V. set, and had the time, which programs would you like to watch? (If no T.V., ask about RADIO programs.)

156. About how many hours a week do you spend reading the paper or magazines?

in winter _____ in summer _____

157. Do you feel that this is a pretty good area in which to live, or, do you wish that you were living in a different area? _____

If elsewhere: Where do you wish you were living? _____

158. Why do you wish you were living there? _____

159. Would you advise your children to stay here in this area and make their homes here? Why?

160. If no: Where do you think they would do best to settle down? _____

161. How do you feel about the people in this community? _____

162. How many really close friends would you say you have - people you can share confidences with? _____

163. How many live in this community? _____

164. How often do you see each of your three closest friends?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

165. What kinds of things do you do with each of them?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

166. How did you get to know each of them?

1. _____

2. _____
3. _____

167. Who do you feel free to turn to in time of trouble, when you need help? (Who would you leave your children with if you were suddenly called away for 1-2 days?)

195. If you had your choice, would you most like to be:

successful _____

independent or _____

well liked? _____

169. Here is a list of the various ways people find out about things. (Hand respondent card #1.) Which would you say are the three most important to you? (Try to avoid defining "things". If pressed, say politics, important events.)

radio	_____	books	_____
T.V.	_____	personal experience	_____
magazines	_____	church	_____
movies	_____	school	_____
talking with people	_____	newspapers	_____
you know	_____	other	_____

170. Here are some statements which some people agree with and some people disagree with. How do you feel about each one?

1. Y N In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.
2. Y N It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
3. Y N There's little use in writing to government officials, because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
4. Y N These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

171. 1. If you had a great deal of money, would you work as much as you do now? _____

Are you pretty sure of that? very sure _____ fairly sure _____ not too sure _____

2. Would you say that the WORST thing about being sick is that your work does not get done? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

Very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

3. Would you say that you work like a slave at everything you do until you are satisfied with the results? _____

Are you pretty sure of that? very sure _____ fairly sure _____ not too sure _____

4. Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

5. Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about that?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

6. If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation? _____

Do you feel pretty strongly about this?

very strongly _____ fairly strongly _____ not too strongly _____

172. Tell me, are there any people whom you would say are really poor around here (in this district)? _____ R himself: _____

If no, probe to make sure that there is no one whom he considers in poverty, and then go on to the next question. If yes, continue.

173. I need to ask you some questions about this, so would you please decide in your mind just whom you would say is poor around here. How many families come to mind? _____

174. How can you tell that they are poor? How does it show? (Probe for full account.)

175. What would you say, in your mind, marks the difference between families which are not doing too well and families which are really poor? (Probe)

176. Could you please tell me why it is that each of these families is poor? (i.e. why they haven't done any better than they have)

177. How do you think each of these families feels about their situation?

178. Do you think that there is anything that the government ought to do to help families like these? _____

If yes: What kind of program do you think the government ought to set up to help such families? (Have respondent be fairly specific.)

M and F

180. WOMEN ONLY - UNLESS THERE IS NO WOMAN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

We are interested in the amount of sickness and accidents in families in this area. I would like to get a little information about sickness and accidents in your family during the past year. FILL OUT TABLE HERE.

181. How would you describe the general condition of your health during the last three years?

excellent _____
 good _____
 fair _____
 poor _____
 very poor _____

182. Do you now have health problems which interfere with your activity in your daily life?

_____ yes, have health problems which do interfere
 _____ yes, have health problems but they do not interfere with activity
 _____ no, no health problems

If yes: The problem is _____

183. How long ago did you last suffer from a major illness, or incapacitating health condition?

184. Do you belong to MSI? _____

185. Do you belong to Blue Cross or any other health insurance coverage? _____

187. (IF NO:) How does it happen that you have never taken out medical expense coverage?

188. How much did you have to pay yourself? _____

180. How did you handle these bills? _____

196. Think of the things which are most important to you. Which three things on this card are the most important to you in the long run? (Hand respondent the card.)

If you had to decide, which one is the most important to you?

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| (a) making money and buying things | _____ | _____ |
| (b) doing things for other people | _____ | _____ |
| (c) keeping healthy and fit | _____ | _____ |
| (d) politics or community affairs | _____ | _____ |
| (e) religious activities | _____ | _____ |
| (f) being liked and respected by others | _____ | _____ |
| (g) being highly skilled in what I do | _____ | _____ |
| (h) being a just and honest person | _____ | _____ |
| (i) family ties and relationships | _____ | _____ |
| (j) being independent and one's own boss | _____ | _____ |

198. Who would you say are the five people with the most influence in this community, in order? What does he (she) do?

NAME OCCUPATION WHAT DOES HE DO IN THE COMMUNITY

199. What characteristics do you think a community leader should have? _____

200. What kinds of people do you think are the "best" people in this community, generally speaking? _____

Why? _____

201. What kinds of people do you think are the "worst" people in this community, generally speaking? _____

Why? _____

202. Are there any things in your family life that you are especially worried about?

yes _____ no _____ NR _____ not applicable _____

If yes: What are they? _____

203. Do you have any disagreements at all with your children?

frequently _____ sometimes _____ rarely _____ never _____

204. If yes: What are the things that you disagree about, in order of frequency?

205. What kinds of things do you and your husband often disagree about? (Probe for sources and amounts of discord.)

206. INTERVIEWER: Rate family discord.

severe discord _____ moderate discord _____ slight discord _____ no discord _____

207. INTERVIEWER: How much conflict do you sense in this family?

between parents: great deal _____ fair amount _____ little bit _____ almost none _____

between parents
and children: great deal _____ fair amount _____ little bit _____ almost none _____

208.

(Instructions to interviewer: Read to the respondent the introduction and each statement exactly as written; circle the response which, in your opinion, most closely typifies their answer.)

"Here are some ideas I would like to ask you about. Some people feel and think this way - other people do not. How do you feel? For example, the first one here says . . . ?

	<u>D</u>	<u>QD</u>	<u>QA</u>	<u>A</u>
1. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself.	4	3	2	1
2. What counts in life is being able to feel that you are a success.	1	2	3	4
3. Getting into trouble with the police now and then is not something to be ashamed of unless you've really done something bad.	4	3	2	1
4. You can't do much about the world so you might as well learn to put up with things the way they are.	4	3	2	1
5. The money I save gives me as good a feeling as things I buy.	1	2	3	4
6. In order to get along in the world, you have to look after your family and friends, and let them look after you.	4	3	2	1
7. A person ought to be satisfied if he manages to get by without too much effort.	4	3	2	1
8. If a girl should get 'in trouble' and 'have to get married' she has disgraced herself.	1	2	3	4
9. If a fellow can get a good job when he finished school, he is foolish to go to university.	4	3	2	1
10. The more you try to plan ahead, the more you will be disappointed.	4	3	2	1
11. Getting ahead in the world is one of the most important things in life.	1	2	3	4
12. It is better to blow up now and then at someone and tell them off than to bottle your feelings up.	4	3	2	1
13. For many young people, education past Grade 9 is not worth the time and trouble.	4	3	2	1
14. To get ahead in the world, a man should be willing to give up old friends and make new ones.	1	2	3	4
15. If a couple want to live together without being married, that's up to them.	4	3	2	1
16. A person is responsible only for himself and his wife and children and not for his other relatives.	1	2	3	4
17. Too many people are so busy planning for tomorrow that they can't really live today.	4	3	2	1
18. Schooling only makes sense if it helps one to get a good job.	4	3	2	1
19. If people really go after what they want they can usually get it.	1	2	3	4
20. Money is made to spend, not to save or invest.	4	3	2	1
21. Education may be important but lots of people get too carried away with it.	4	3	2	1
22. Too many people are so concerned with getting ahead that they can't really enjoy life.	4	3	2	1

. . .21
M preferably,
or F

209. Do you have anyone besides your wife (husband) and children living with you at the present time? (do not include a regular "hired" man or woman.) _____

If yes, list by relationship and age.

Ask for each person: Does he (she) give you much help with work on the farm?

Does he (she) pay you anything for their room & board? how much?

Do you pay him (her) for the help they give you on the farm?
How much?

RELATIONSHIP	AGE	WORK FOR YOU	THEY PAY YOU HOW MUCH?	YOU PAY THEM HOW MUCH?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

M PREFERABLY, OR F

210. We would like to know how many brothers and married sisters you have, how old each one is, where each one is living, and what each one is doing.

INTERVIEWER: Stop here if you have 6 or more already.

We would also like to know how many brothers and married sisters your wife has, how old each one is, where each one is living, and what each one is doing.

Which ones would you say are succeeding or prospering about as well as you are, which ones are prospering more than you are, and which ones are prospering less well than you are. (+ is more, = is same, - is less)

No. of Brothers & Bros.-in-law	Age	Residence	Occupation	State of Prosperity Compared with Self
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

213. Are there any services or improvements that you would like to see the government providing in this area, e.g., library, etc? _____

214. Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

F and M

Check one:

often sometimes never

- | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Has any ill health affected the amount of work you do? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Have you ever had spells of dizziness? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Are you troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Do you have loss of appetite? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 7. Do you tend to lose weight when you have something important bothering you? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 8. Have you ever been bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety or tense? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Have you ever been bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 10. For the most part, do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you would like to do? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 11. Are you sometimes bothered by your heart beating hard. (Pounding) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 12. Do you feel you are bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 13. Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 14. Are you bothered by nightmares? | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Check one:

yes no uncertain

- | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 15. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any apparent reason? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 16. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 17. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 18. Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very sluggish? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 19. Are you inclined to be moody? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 20. Do you have frequent ups and downs in mood, either with or without apparent reason? | _____ | _____ | _____ |

EVALUATION SHEET

Location of Interview _____

Name of Interviewee: _____ Place of Interview _____
(kitchen, field, barn, etc).

Date of Interview: _____ Name of Interviewer: _____

Did the respondent have any trouble understanding you - or vice versa? _____

How good was rapport? _____

How highly motivated was the respondent to participate in the interview? _____

at the beginning _____ about the middle _____ toward the end _____

Could you easily go back to this person and get more information if it was needed? _____

What kinds of interruptions occurred, and how long did they last during the interview?

Was the spouse of interviewee present? _____

Did he (she) influence respondent? _____

How would you evaluate or describe the interview, in general terms?

Interview checked by _____

UCSR Schedule C Household Population Information
(No individual case used in our report will be mentioned by name. However, we do ask your cooperation in giving us information asked for so that our survey may be complete and accurate.)

Family Unit		Location				Date: Interviewer										58 Transp.						
Identification	50 Relationship to head person	51 Age Yrs.	52 Educa- tion Yrs.	53 Marital Status	54 Occupation	55 Place of Work (or School)	56 Employment					57 Sources of Revenue					Est. Income Mo. Yr.	Walk	Car	Bus	Train	Other
							Self	Empl'er	Wage Earner	Retired	Unemp'd	Weeks worked in 1965	Fam. All.	Pensions	Insurance	Welfare						
1.																						
2.																						
3.																						
4.																						
5.																						
6.																						
7.																						
8.																						
9.																						
10.																						
11.																						
12.																						
Number																						
Others:																						

No individual case used in our report will be mentioned by name. We will not enter names on the schedule if you prefer not. However, we do ask your cooperation in giving us all possible information about housing and conveniences so that we can make our survey accurate.

Name:- _____ Date:- _____ Int. _____

Location:- _____

- (1) Dwelling:
- (2) Rooms:
- (3) Lighting:
- (4) Heating:
- (5) Fire protection: (exits, stove protection)
- (6) Water Supply:
- (7) Toilet Facilities:
- (8) General Sanitation:

Conveniences, construction for Edwards' Scale Total _____

Number of persons: _____ Number of Rooms: _____

- | | |
|---|--|
| () 1. Construction: Brick, stucco, painted frame, stained shingle. | () 17. Living room walls finished: paper, paint, calcimine, plasterboard. |
| () 2. One room or more per person. | () 18. Woodwork painted or varnished. |
| () 3. Central heating system. | () 19. Dining room table and buffet. |
| () 4. Electricity or mantle lamp. | () 20. Chesterfield or lounge. |
| () 5. Improved full or part basement. | () 21. Easy chairs, one or more. |
| () 6. Cistern. | () 22. Bookcase or desk. |
| () 7. Storm windows for some or all rooms. | () 23. Books, 10 or more, not children's. |
| () 8. One or more clothes closets. | () 24. Piano. |
| () 9. Flooring on all floors. | () 25. Pumping system, hand or better. |
| () 10. Telephone. | () 26. Magazine subscriptions - 2. |
| () 11. Power washing machine. | () 27. Weeklies (3) or daily. |
| () 12. Bathroom. | |
| () 13. Kitchen sink. | |
| () 14. Separate dining room. | |
| () 15. Linoleum on kitchen floor. | |
| () 16. Living room floor finished, lino, rug, paint, wax, tile. | |

HEALTH

1. Do you have medical insurance? yes _____ no _____
2. If yes: What kind? MSI _____ Blue Cross _____ Other _____
3. Who is covered by this insurance? father _____ mother _____ children _____
4. Is anyone in your family permanently disabled?

Who	Since When	Nature of Disability	Where did this happen
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

What does this keep him (her) from doing? _____

5. Has anyone in your family had tuberculosis?

Who	When did he (she) get it	What was the outcome
_____	_____	_____

6. FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

Have any children in your family died before they were 12 years old?

- (a) How old was he (she)?
- (b) Where did it happen (home, school, city)?
- (c) What was the cause of death?

Age	Where did it happen	Cause of death	Date
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

7. Were any children born dead? _____ How many? _____

8. Have there been any (other) deaths in the last 3 years? _____

Relation to Head of Household	Age	Where did it happen	Cause of death	Date
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

URBAN

1. Do you have any friends or relative in the city? How does it make you feel to have a close friend or relative move to the city?
2. Have you ever lived in the city?
If so, how did you like it?
3. Have you ever visited the city? How often?
4. Would you ever consider moving there? Why or why not?
5. Are the whites in Edmonton different than the whites in St. Paul?
6. Is the city as a whole good or bad, would you say? Why?
7. Do you think an Indian would be put in jail more often in Edmonton than in St. Paul. Why?
8. Do Indian people who lived in the city return to the Reserve? Why?

A.

INCOME AND CONSUMPTION

1. On how much money a year would it take for you to live the way you would like to live? _____

What would that (living like you like to live) consist of?

2. How much can a family of 7 get by on - if they have to?

3. About how much in payments are you making every month?

ALCOHOL

1. Do you think it was a good idea to allow Indian to drink in bars and go to the liquor vendor? Why?
2. Now that Indian can drink in town do you think they should be allowed to bring liquor into the Reserve?

OCCUPATIONAL

1. Do many Indian men have steady jobs? (steady job - one that pays enough to keep the family going all year long)
2. Which do you think is better: one steady job or several different jobs?
3. If you were 15 and could start all over again, what kind of work would you aim for?
4. Is it easier to get jobs now than it was five year ago?
5. What kind of work would you like to see your sons in?
6. Is outdoor work healthier for a person than indoor work? Why?
7. Have you ever been turned down for a job that you could do because you are an Indian?
8. How many of your family's needs do you get by your own work? (for example: food, wood, etc.)

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE:

If you could pick a job of your choice and pay and hours of work were the same, which would be your first choice and which would be your last choice?

1. Mechanic, construction worker, truckdriver, mail man.
2. factory worker, gas station attendant, janitor, dishwasher.
3. surveying, highway road crew, raising cattle, crop farming.
4. fishing/trapping, logging, root and rock picking, sugar beets.
5. mechanic, surveying, factory work, fishing/trapping.
6. construction worker, highway road crew, gas station attendant, logging.
7. truck driver, raising cattle, janitor, rock and root picking.
8. mail man, crop farming, dishwashing, sugar beets.
9. teacher, mink rancher, policeman, stooking.
10. mechanic, policeman, raising cattle, dishwashing.

Is there one of these jobs you would much rather do than others? Are there any jobs you would not do under any conditions?

WELFARE

1. Who do you think should get welfare? Why?
2. What things should welfare money cover? What does it cover now?
3. A. How is welfare distributed now?
B. How should welfare be distributed?
4. Do you think many people are getting welfare that do not need it?
How do they do this?
5. Do you think the welfare payments are large enough? If not, how much should they be?
6. Is welfare given out in cash or vouchers?
7. Do you think this method is good? Why or why not?
8. Does the welfare officer discuss your problems with you?
If not, would you like him to spend time talking to you?

FOR BEET WORKERS

1. Why do you come down here to work?
2. Have you done this before? How often?
3. How much do you and your family usually earn while down here?
4. How much do you usually have when you return to the Reserve? Why?
5. What do you like about this job? Dislike?
6. Did you try to find work near the Reserve? With what results?
7. Would you prefer to work on or near the Reserve?
8. Why do you come to Taber rather than to Raymond or any other area?
9. Do you think the police treat Indians worse in Tabor or St. Paul?
How? Why?
10. Do you think the townspeople are any different than the ones in St. Paul?
11. Is food more expensive here than in St. Paul? If so, why?
12. How do you find a place to live down here?
13. Do you think that there are more fights between Indians and Whites here
than in St. Paul?
14. Do Indians do more drinking here than at home?

ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIAN AFFAIRS

1. Who is the Indian Agent? Have you ever had a chance to talk to him on the Reserve or in the office?
2. How is the I.A. Agency helping the Reserve?
3. How could they do more to help?
4. If you can't get help at the Agency where can you go?
5. How often do you go to the I. Agency?
 - A. For what reasons usually?
 - B. Do you usually get what you want?
6. What do you think the purpose of the Agency is?
7. Do you think the Indian people still need the Indian Agent? Why?
8. Do you think there should be an Indian Agency assistant on the Reserve? Why?

EDUCATION

- G1. How many children do you have in school?
- A2. Do you think it is better to have the elementary schools in St. Paul or on the Reserve? Why?
- A3. Do your children like going to school there?
- A4. Do you think the Indian children who go to school in St. Paul will stay in school longer? Why?
- P5. Do you think your children have difficulty with school work because they are Indian?
- P6. Many Indian teenagers drop out of school when they are 15. Why do you think this is?
- P7. We understand that there have been some problems in school between Indian children and the teachers. Have your children had any problems?
- P8. If your children were going to a school with all Indian children, do you think they would keep on going longer?
- P9. Do your children play with white children at school?
- P10. Do you think things are ever tougher for Indian teenagers than for Indians? How?
- P11. Do you think the schools should provide supplies for children or is it better to buy your own?
- P12. What do you think about the schools providing lunches for the children at low cost or for free?
- P13. Would you be willing to buy milk for your children at school if it were for sale?
- P14. How far would you like your sons to go in school?
Your daughters?
- A18. Do you think a girl needs to go to high school if she plans to be a wife and mother?
- A19. If your teenage son had a chance for a good job would you want him to leave school?
- A20. Do you think everyone needs an education? How much?
- A21. Do you think people need the same kind of education whether they live in the city or in the country?
- A22. Which do you think is more important for your sons: job training or high school?
- A23. Would you go back to school now with other adults if you had the chance?
- A24. Did you go to the Adult Education classes this past year?
- A25. Do you think they should be continued? Why?
- A26. Do you think there should be a bus service for adults who wish to attend?
- A27. Have you heard about the program at Ft. McMurray to train people to use heavy machinery?
- A28. Would you or your sons be interested in this program? Why?
- A29. Do you think an Indian Residential School is better for the children than having them go by bus each day? Why?

- A30. Do you think Indian Residential Schools should be run by Church groups
or by someone else? Why? Who?
- A31. What complaints have you heard about Bluequills?
- A32. What changes would you suggest to be made in Bluequills?
- A33. Do you think there should be residences for children to live in while
going to schools in the towns? Why?
- A34. Did you ever attend a Residential School? Did you like it?
Why?

UCSR Schedule C Household Population Information

(No individual case used in our report will be mentioned by name. However, we do ask your cooperation in giving us information asked for so that our survey may be complete and accurate.)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE IV

Family Unit	Location				Interviewer										58 Transp.			
	50 Relationship to head person	51 Age Yrs.	52 Educa- tion Yrs.	53 Marital Status	54 Occupation	55 Place of Work (or School)	56 Employment					57 Sources of Revenue					Est. Income Mo. Yr.	
Identification							Self	Empl'er	Wage Earner	Retired	Unemp'd	Weeks worked in 1965	Fam. All.	Pensions	Insurance	Welfare	Other	
1.																		Walk
2.																		Car
3.																		Bus
4.																		Train
5.																		
6.																		
7.																		
8.																		
9.																		
10.																		
11.																		
12.																		
Number																		
Others:																		

UCSR Housing and Edwards' Scale - Schedule A

No individual case used in our report will be mentioned by name. We will not enter names on the schedule if you prefer not. However, we do ask your cooperation in giving us all possible information about housing and conveniences so that we can make our survey accurate.

Name:- _____ Date:- _____ Int. _____

Location:- _____

- (1) Dwelling:
- (2) Rooms:
- (3) Lighting:
- (4) Heating:
- (5) Fire protection: (exits, stove protection)
- (6) Water Supply:
- (7) Toilet Facilities:
- (8) General Sanitation:

Conveniences, construction for Edwards' Scale Total _____

Number of persons: _____ Number of Rooms: _____

- | | |
|---|--|
| () 1. Construction: Brick, stucco, painted frame, stained shingle. | () 17. Living room walls finished: paper, paint, calçimine, plasterboard. |
| () 2. One room or more per person. | () 18. Woodwork painted or varnished. |
| () 3. Central heating system. | () 19. Dining room table and buffet. |
| () 4. Electricity or mantle lamp. | () 20. Chesterfield or lounge. |
| () 5. Improved full or part basement. | () 21. Easy chairs, one or more. |
| () 6. Cistern. | () 22. Bookcase or desk. |
| () 7. Storm windows for some or all rooms. | () 23. Books, 10 or more, not children's. |
| () 8. One or more clothes closets. | () 24. Piano. |
| () 9. Flooring on all floors. | () 25. Pumping system, hand or better. |
| () 10. Telephone. | () 26. Magazine subscriptions - 2. |
| () 11. Power washing machine. | () 27. Weeklies (3) or daily. |
| () 12. Bathroom. | |
| () 13. Kitchen sink. | |
| () 14. Separate dining room. | |
| () 15. Linoleum on kitchen floor. | |
| () 16. Living room floor finished, lino, rug, paint, wax, tile. | |

HEALTH

1. Do you have medical insurance? yes _____ no _____
2. If yes: What kind? MSI _____ Blue Cross _____ Other _____
3. Who is covered by this insurance? father _____ mother _____ children _____
4. Is anyone in your family permanently disabled?

Who	Since When	Nature of Disability	Where did this happen
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

What does this keep him (her) from doing? _____

5. Has anyone in your family had tuberculosis?

Who	When did he (she) get it	What was the outcome
_____	_____	_____

6. FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

Have any children in your family died before they were 12 years old?

- (a) How old was he (she)?
- (b) Where did it happen (home, school, city)?
- (c) What was the cause of death?

Age	Where did it happen	Cause of death	Date
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

7. Were any children born dead? _____ How many? _____
8. Have there been any (other) deaths in the last 3 years? _____

Relation to Head of Household	Age	Where did it happen	Cause of death	Date
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

URBAN

1. Do you have any friends or relatives in the city? How does it make you feel to have a close friend or relative move to the city?
2. Have you ever lived in the city? If so, how did you like it?
3. Have you ever visited the city? How often?
4. Would you ever consider moving there? Why or why not?
5. Have you been around many city whites? Are they much different than the whites around here? How?
6. Is the city as a whole good or bad, would you say? Why?
7. If I got into trouble in the city I would feel kind of lost. Where would you go to for help in the city?
8. Do you think Metis are arrested more in the city than in LLB? Why is that?
9. Why do Metis people who lived in the city leave?
10. Do many Metis go to the city to look for work? What kind of work do they find?
11. Would you say that the Metis in the city are different from the Metis around here? How?

	Edmonton City	Lac La Biche Town	Kikino/Mission Country
Where is the best place:			
to raise your children			
to visit			
to find steady work			
to have a good time			
to feel at home			
where people are friendlier			
to live			
for Metis families			
where you can do what you want			
for your children			
for going to school			
for your children when they are grown up			
to live when you are old			
Where is the place:			
where people are most helpful			
where whites are friendliest			
where chances are better			
where prices are higher			
that is most dangerous			
where you're most likely to have trouble with the police			

EDUCATIONAL

- G1. How many children you you have in school? This year?
- A2. Do you think it is better to have the elementary schools in _____ or Lac La Biche?
- Why?
- A3. Do your children like going to school here?
- A4. Do you think this kind of school system keeps the children staying in school?
- P5. Do you think your children have any special problems in school because they are Metis?
- P6. Many Metis teenagers drop out of school when they are 15. Why do you think this is?
- P7. We understand that there have been some problems in school between Metis children and the teachers. Have your children had any problems?
- P8. If your children were going to a school with all Metis children, do you think they would keep on going longer?
- P9. Do your children have other Metis children to play with? Or do they play mostly with their brothers and sisters?
- P10. Do your children (or teenagers) play with white children (teenagers)?
- P11. Do you think things are ever tougher for Metis teenagers than for whites? How?
- E12. Do you think the schools should provide supplies for children or is it better to buy your own?
- E.14 What do you think about the schools providing lunches for the children at low cost?
- E14. Would you be willing to buy milk for your children at school if it were for sale?
- E15. Do you know of anyone who has completed a part of high school or all of it with outside help from welfare or the government?
- Good idea?
- A16. What subjects do you think are the most important in school for boys?
- For girls?
- A17. How far would you like your sons to go in school?
- Your daughters?

- A16a. If you didn't get to take those subjects, would you take them now if they were offered for adults?
- A18. Do you think a girl needs to go to high school if she plans to be a wife and mother?
- A19. If your teenage son had a chance for a good job would you want him to leave school?
- A20. Do you think everyone needs an education? How much?
- A21. Do you ever wish you had more education?
- A22. Do you think people need the same kind of education whether they live in the city or in the country?
- A23. Which do you think is more important for your sons: Job training or high school?
- A24. Would you go back to school now with other adults if you had the chance?

INCOME AND CONSUMPTION

1. On how much money a year would it take for you to live the way you would like to live? _____

What would that (living like you like to live) consist of?

2. How much can a family of 7 get by on - if they have to?
3. About how much in payments are you making every month?
4. About how much is your rent (per month)?

ALCOHOL

1. Do you think it was a good idea to allow Indian to drink in bars and go to the liquor vendor? Why?

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

1. Have you ever seen anyone being asked to leave a place because he was a Metis?
Why do you think this happens?
2. Do you think life is better for the Metis on a colony or off?
Why?
3. Have you ever lived off (on) a colony?
4. What are the best things about living on a colony?
5. What are the worst things about living on a colony?
6. Do Metis go to some stores and cafes rather than others?
Why is this?
7. Do your children belong to any clubs or organizations? Which ones?
8. Do you or your husband wife belong to any?
9. Do you have any relatives? Who are not Metis?

Do they live around here?

Do you get to see them very often? Once a month or so?
10. Do you know any Metis who have married Whites? How did people feel about it?
11. What is it that makes a Metis, a Metis?
12. Can you tell an Metis from an Indian or a White? How?

OCCUPATIONAL

1. Do many Metis men have steady jobs?
(steady job - one that pays enough to keep the family going all year long)
2. What is your occupation? (if retired, what was it?)
3. Could you tell us how many jobs you worked on last year?
job? how long? where?
4. Which do you think is better: one steady job or several different jobs? Why?
5. If you were to choose the occupation you liked best, which of these things would be most important: a) the amount of pay? b) the people you worked with? c) the type of work? d) what people think of that kind of work?
What would be least important?
6. What kind of work do you like to do best? To do least?
7. If you were 15 and could start all over again, what kind of work would you aim for?
8. Is it easier to get jobs now than it was five years ago?
9. Do you believe in lending money? To whom? (potatoes, wood, rides)
10. What kind of work would you like to see your sons in?
11. Is outdoor work healthier for a person than indoor work? Why?
12. Have you ever been turned down for a job that you could do because you are Metis?
13. How many of your family's needs do you get by your own work?
(for example: wood, food, etc.)

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE:

If you could pick a job of your choice and pay and hours of work were the same, which would be your first choice and which would be your last choice? (circle first, underline last)

1. mechanic, construction worker, truckdriver, mailman.
2. factory worker, gas station attendant, janitor, dishwasher.
3. surveying, highway road crew, raising cattle, crop farming.
4. fishing/trapping, logging, root and rock picking, sugar beets.
5. mechanic, surveying, factory work, fishing/trapping.
6. construction worker, highway road crew, gas station attendant, logging.
7. truck driver, raising cattle, janitor, rock and root picking.
8. mailman, crop farming, dishwashing, sugar beets.
9. teacher, mink rancher, policeman, stooking.
10. mechanic, policeman, raising cattle, dishwashing.

Is there one of these jobs you would much rather do than others?

Are there any jobs you would not do under any conditions?



Approved and Ordered,

Grant McEwan
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Edmonton, Tuesday, March 29th, 1966.

Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the President of the Council, dated March 28th, 1966, the Executive Council advises:

1. THAT DR. CHARLES W. HOBART of the City of Edmonton, Associate Professor of Sociology of the University of Alberta, be and is hereby appointed to undertake as Research Director, a study to be known as "Community Opportunity Assessment in Alberta" in conjunction with the study program of the Human Resources Development Office:

2. THAT with respect to that study the said Dr. Hobart be responsible for --

- (a) developing a specific research design for a depth analysis of poverty in Alberta;
- (b) supervising all field studies; and
- (c) co-ordinating and analyzing the studies made;

and be required, upon the completion of that study, to submit a report thereon to the Executive Council:

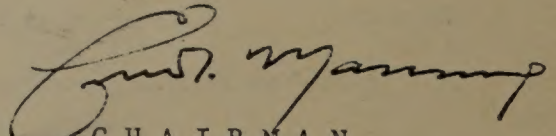
3. THAT the said Dr. Charles W. Hobart be and is hereby authorized to engage the services of consultants, graduate students, interviewers and such other persons considered necessary to carry out the study:

4. THAT the following expenses are hereby authorized in connection with the said study:

- (a) to the said Dr. Hobart, the sum of \$3,500.00, after the submission of his report to the Executive Council;
- (b) to any consultant engaged by Dr. Hobart such remuneration as may be approved by the President of the Executive Council;

- (c) to each graduate student engaged by Dr. Hobart, remuneration at the rate of \$460.00 per month;
 - (d) to each interviewer engaged by Dr. Hobart, remuneration at the rate of \$20.00 per day;
5. THAT subsistence and travelling allowances shall be paid
- (a) to Dr. Hobart at the rates applicable to employees in the public service of the Province having a salary grade of Grade 31 or higher; and
 - (b) to any persons engaged by Dr. Hobart pursuant to paragraph 3 at the rates applicable to employees in the public service of the Province having a salary grade below Grade 31:
6. THAT where Dr. Hobart or any person engaged by or pursuant to paragraph 3 uses a privately owned automobile in the course of his duties in connection with the study, travelling allowances shall be paid therefor at the rates specified in section 3 of the Regulations in respect of Privately Owned Automobiles Used on the Business of the Government:
7. THAT the total of all expenditures incurred under this Order shall not exceed \$38,500.00:
8. THAT all expenses incurred in connection with the said study be charged to Appropriation 2708 - Surveys and Commissions - Treasury Department:

The Executive Council further advises, upon the recommendation of the Honourable the President of the Council, that Order in Council numbered O.C. 503/66 and dated March 23rd, 1966, be and is hereby rescinded.


CHAIRMAN

DATE DUE
DATE DE RETOUR

~~1967-11-1965~~

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